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ABSTRACT

Seven papers on various topics in language research are presented, including: "What Makes the Japanese Inscrutable?: A Linguistic Perspective" (Julie Bruch); "A New Look at Old English Metrics" (Alison K. Huettner); "A Class of Indefinites in Vietnamese" (Laura A. Michaelis); "Cohesion and the Yiddish Consecutive Order" (Kenneth L. Miner); "Syllable Structure and Interlanguage Phonology" (Tim Riney); "Socially Deictic Use of a Body-Part Term in Turkish" (Mubeccel Taneri); and "Chinese Passives: Transformational or Lexical" (Jiuwu Zhang, Xiaohong Wen). An index of the cumulative contents of volumes 1-14 of the Working Papers is also included. (MSE)

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edited by

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WHAT MAKES THE JAPANESE INSCRUTABLE?
A LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Julie Bruch

Abstract: The question of whether Grice's (1967) maxims are universally applicable is examined by looking at quantity implicatures in Japanese. It is hoped that a possible Western bias present in the formulation of some of the pragmatic principles can be investigated by looking at a broader range of linguistic and cultural contexts in this way. I present discussion of three hypotheses related to Japanese communication: (a) understatement is preferred -- maxim of quality, (b) the amount of information required to be specified in conversation is less than for English -- maxim of quantity, and (c) pragmatic forces may call for indirectness of expression -- maxim of manner. The data show that there are different strategies in Japanese for achieving the goals of communication.

The Japanese have oftentimes been characterized by Westerners as vague (and perhaps deliberately so) in human interaction, particularly in expressing their opinions. And from a superficial vantage point, when "foreigners" try to talk with the Japanese, either in Japanese or another language, this vagueness causes, at best, confusion and at worst, hostility. Those who have had some exposure to the language and people of Japan are probably familiar with the difficulty found in interpreting the Japanese smile and the seemingly affirmative shake of the head. They may also have encountered problems when they discovered that "yes" very rarely has the degree of positive commitment that we normally attribute it with having in our language. Indeed, it may even at times mean "no."

I have heard "folk linguists" attempting to explain the seemingly nebulous quality of Japanese speech by

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making reference to traits of the language using reasoning such as the following. "The Japanese don't use pronouns, and many times they don't specify any subject in their sentences." "They don't have the complex system of conjugations and verb tenses that Westerners do." "The Japanese language only has a limited number of phoneme sequences in comparison with our language, so all the words have five or ten homonyms. No wonder it's confusing."

Other people have pinpointed certain cultural factors as being responsible for the lack of clarity we feel when communicating with Japanese people. (For an anecdotal treatment of this, see Chapter 1 of Don Maloney's Japan: It's Not All Raw Fish published by The Japan Times, Ltd., 1979.) Comments are made such as, "In the Japanese culture, it is not polite to contradict or refuse, so they avoid saying 'no' or correcting mistaken information or misrepresentations that occur in the course of a converstion." Even some Japanese people have tried to provide an explanation by pointing out, "We Japanese are an insular people, all of the same race and history, so we understand each other without all the explicit explanation you Westerners are accustomed to."

These forms of folk rationale may have some valid basis, but the problem is certainly explainable in more concrete terms. It will be the intent of this paper to give a more material answer than those discussed above to the question: what makes the Japanese inscrutable?

English speakers are not at all unfamiliar with the experience of expressing a greater amount of information with an utterance than simply whatever is contained by the sum total of the meanings of its words. Nor are we unaccustomed to understanding the hidden intent or contextual relevance of the messages we hear. We understand these linguistic phenomena because we are capable of making use of our ability to make inferences beyond simple word meanings. The proper understanding of sarcasm, irony, metaphor, and other figures of speech, as well as ordinary utterances in conversation depends not only on semantic knowledge, but also on sensitivity to contextual factors surrounding the participants in the conversation. This reference to things beyond actual speech allows us to mean (and understand) more than is actually expressed by words. Inferences of this sort are called "conversational implicatures" (Levinson 1983:97), and by exploring implicatures in Japanese, we may be able to suggest one answer to the question posed in the last paragraph.

Implicature and Conversational Maxims

Specifically, we will be examining two types of implicatures, both of which have to do with the quantity of information that can be inferred. The first type is scalar quantity implicatures; for example, "all" implicates "most", which in turn implicates "some" (Levinson 1983:134). The second type is clausal quantity implicatures. For example, "I know the sky is blue" implicates "I think the sky is blue" (Levinson 1983:137). Both of these types involve expressions or predicates which can be arrranged in order of strength according to the amount of information they bear and the inference potential they contain.

Also of vital importance to our analysis here are the maxims of conversation proposed by Grice (1967), since a discussion of implicature has as its base the idea that people speak in a cooperative manner when they intend to communicate in an efficient way. The maxims most relevant here are listed below.

A. The maxim of quality: try to make your contribution one that is true.
    i. Do not say what you believe to be false.
    ii. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
B. The maxim of quantity:
    i. Make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes ofthe exchange.
    ii. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
C. The maxim of manner: be perspicuous.
    i. Avoid obscurity.
    ii. Avoid ambiguity.
    iii. Be brief.
    iv. Be orderly.

It is obvious that two speakers must have a mutual understanding of the particular context in which they find themselves and share a mutually understandable language in order for more than phatic communication to take place. But beyond this, they must somehow share similar expectations about how people codify their messages with regard to the quality, quantity and manner of speech; otherwise, correct interpretation of what is heard will be impossible.

It is my feeling that Grice was basically correct in suggesting the existence of this kind of conversational cooperation, but that the specific details of each maxim are not universally applicable, and therefore, must be redefined for each culture and language group. It follows that if the maxims operate differently among various languages, the implicatures of certain sentences must necessarily vary as well. We will base the exploration of Japanese implicatures here on that assumption.

Before looking at particular implicatures in Japanese, it would be well to clarify the characteristics of implicatures in general. Gazdar (1977:49) explains an implicature as being "a proposition that is implied by the utterance of a sentence in a context even though that proposition is not a part of nor an entailment of what was actually said." Grice (1975) describes several tests we can apply to utterances to differentiate between implicatures and other types of inferences such as presuppositions or entailments.

The first test is cancellability, or defeasibility. If we hear that a person has nine sons, we infer by a quantity implicature that he does not have ten sons. But this implicature is cancellable by the sentence, "He has nine sons or maybe more." A second test is non-detachability. If we change the form of a sentence by using synonyms or alternative structure to say the same thing, the implicature remains the same. For example, "He is the father of nine male children." Another test is calculability; that is, we should be able to calculate and explain how the implicature of an utterance is understood from its literal meaning together with the knowledge of the cooperative principle and shared context. By the politeness principle and the maxim of quantity, we can calculate that if someone has ten sons, we will not be told he has nine. A fourth test Grice suggests is the non-conventionality of implicatures. This simply means that an implicature is not included in the conventional literal meaning of an utterance, thereby making it possible for a sentence to be true while its implicature is false. There is nothing in the conventionally accepted dictionary meaning of the words of the sentence, "He has nine sons," that tells us that "nine" excludes the possibility of eight or ten. We may find occasion to refer back to these tests in the discussion that follows.

Assumptions and Hypotheses

In order to explore some specific examples of the variant implicatures in English and Japanese, the discussion will be based on three assumptions. The first, which has been mentioned earlier, is that Grice's maxims may apply in different forms for different languages, operating language specifically rather than universally. A second assumption, which in fact seems to be an offshoot of the first, is that a given utterance may contain a different implicational potential in different cultures. This is an obvious assumption to make if we define implicature as the unspecified and unspoken meaning of an utterance together with its context. Not only is each speaker's world view different, but also the interpretation of each event and setting will vary, as will value judgments of things such as the relative status of the participants and the purpose of the particular communicative act being engaged in. The final assumption is that even if cross-cultural communicators understand the conventional implications of an utterance, if there is misunderstanding of the conversational implicatures, difficulties will arise in the communication process, resulting in characterizations such as the Japanese "inscrutability" which is being discussed here.

Based on these assumptions, I would like to posit several hypotheses about the differences between Japanese and Americans in their use of communicative forms relative to the cooperative principle. The first hypothesis is that, in general terms, while Americans find it easy to overstate or exaggerate, Japanese often prefer to undersate or at least stay closer to the truth value of quantitative statements. This seems to reflect a difference in the choice of scalar expressions between the two cultures; for example, on quantitative strength scales such as those below, this hypothesis predicts that Americans would choose words from either extreme end, while the Japanese would use words from the middle range more often.

A. ↑all
most
many
some
a few
very few
hardly any
↓none

B. ↑always
usually
often
sometimes
once in a while
rarely
↓never

C. ↑definitely
probably
possibly
unlikely
↓impossible

D. ↑know
believe
think
guess
↓be unsure

If this, in fact, can be shown to be a tendency, the maxim of quality ("Do not say what you believe to be false; do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.") may require reinterpretation.

The second hypothesis holds that the amount of information that must be specified in order to make a "contribution as informative as is required" is less for Japanese than for Americans in certain contexts. This may coincide with the view held by some people that, being of a relatively homogeneous makeup, the Japanese have more common ground and, therefore, less need to make certain aspects of communication overt. The maxim of quantity would be relevant here.

Finally, I would like to hypothesize that while both English and Japanese speakers constantly adjust the forms of their communication to meet the semantic as well as pragmatic requisites of a particular communicative event, the pragmatic force carries more importance in Japanese in the selection of utterance type than in English, and the resulting pragmatic implicatures are more salient. Such a predominating use of the pragmatic plane in Japanese should have an influence on our interpretation of the maxim of manner.

These hypotheses together could account for quite a few of the differences in means of communicating between Japanese and Americans, and indeed can probably point to a cultural typology of the Japanese that would be consistent with cultural descriptions that have been made in other areas and from separate viewpoints. Examples will be shown in the following paragraphs to illustrate the principles at work.

Examples

The first scale of quantitative implicatures to be examined is that of definiteness. The respective scales of English and Japanese in this domain follow. Synonymous variants have been supplied only for the Japanese scale.

A.	↑definitely	B.	↑zettai (kanarazu, kitto)
	probably		tabun (osoraku)
	↓possibly		↓kamo shirenai (deshoo)

The words along the English scale (in A.) have contrasting meanings and are of different strengths. They can be substituted in a single sentence to change its meaning, but none of the words along the scale can be included simultaneously with another in the same sentence.

1. He will definitely arrive tomorrow.
2. He will probably arrive tomorrow.
3. He will possibly arrive tomorrow.
4. *He may definitely arrive tomorrow.
5. *He will probably arrive tomorrow possibly.

We can generalize, then, that each member of the scale is semantically contrastive and, when used in a sentence, reveals the speaker's honest assessment of the degree of definiteness involved in the context being spoken of. Also, we assume that the speaker employs the word from the highest point on the scale that he believes to be true; otherwise, he would be breaking the quantity maxim. It is possible, however, to imagine a context where pragmatic influences would override the need for semantic accuracy and a word from a lower strength on the scale would be used in violation of the quantity maxim. That would be, for example, if a student corrects a teacher's wrong statement, or if an employee tells his manager that his idea did not work. In this type of situation, regardless of the certainty of the student or worker who is thinking "You are absolutely (definitely) wrong," the utterance would more likely be formulated as, "You may be in error." Politeness requires a less strong statement in such a case. In English, the semantic choice may default to a pragmatically governed choice, but if the choices required by meaning (or truth value) and the circumstances are different, only the one that is the "strongest" will be chosen.

A different situation exists in Japanese (refer to scale B). The term "zettai" needs some explanation. "Zettai" and "definitely" both appear at the strongest end of the scale, but "zettai" cannot really be equated with English "definitely" because, although it basically has that meaning, "zettai" carries a much stronger force and is often used with negative statements (making non-native speakers sound opinionated or aggressive because of an inclination to use it as a translation of the English. In polite or formal conversations, therefore, there is a tendency for a person of lower status to avoid the use of "zettai" and choose a word of weaker force. The word "kanarazu," which also means "definitely," is used with statements containing more positive values. Beyond this distinction, Japanese is interesting in that the choice of a word from the definiteness scale seems to be based on slightly different principles than those just described for English. The semantic choice would be made in Japanese according to the quantity maxim as in English (see 6, 7, 10, and 12 below). But in regard to the pragmatic demands of conversation in Japanese society, there is an option which does not exist so saliently in English; that is, one can soften a statement by employing a word of lesser strength on the scale to show deference while at the same time retaining a stronger word to show the amount of certainty he has (see 8, 9, 11, and 13 below).

6. He will definitely arrive tomorrow.
7. Zettai ashita tsuku. (absolutely-tomorrow-he will arrive)
8. Zettai ashita tsuku deshoo. (absolutely-tomorrow-he will arrive-probably)
9. Zettai ashita tsuku kamo shirenai. (absolutely-tomorrow-he will arrive-but I'm not sure)

10. Kitto ashita tsuku. (definitely-tomorrow-he will arrive)
11. Kitto ashita tsuku deshoo. (definitely-tomorrow-he will arrive-probably)

12. Kanarazu ashita tsuku. (without fail-tomorrow-he will arrive)
13. Kanarazu ashita tsuku deshoo. (without fail-tomorrow-he will arrive-probably)

The importance of social context to the Japanese is revealed in these usages, and we could predict that when speaking English, Japanese people would tend to use "probably" or "maybe" more often than our American cultural standards would require.

Another scale which is used in different ways in the two cultures will illustrate one more area in which Americans perceive Japanese as withholding quantity or using understatement. It is the scale of affection.

C.	D.
love	ai shite iru
like a lot	dai suki da
like	suki da
dislike	kirai da
dislike very much	dai kirai da
hate	nikunde iru

It is generally realized that Americans commonly apply the term "love" rather generously and indiscriminately to animate as well as inanimate entities and to abstract ideas or nonexistent things (e.g., I love your new pencil. I would love to go to Mars. I love the person who first discovered ice cream.). This loose usage of the word is to be ignored here since it can almost be counted as a separate lexical item from that which involves true affection. Using only the narrower meaning of "affection" to interpret this scale, we can show several differences in how words from certain points on the scale are chosen, both as to quantity and quality.

Americans

"love"	"like (a lot)"
pets	?pets
*casual friends	casual friends
close friends	close friends
family members	?family members
romantic relation	*romantic relation

Japanese

"ai suru"	"(dai) suki"
*pets	pets
*casual friends	casual friends
?*close friends	close friends
*family members	family members
?romantic relation	romantic relation

In these lists, it can be noticed that "like" in English is more limited in distribution than "love," and will be interpreted as a joke or an insult if used in a romantic situation. Similarly, its use is questionable to describe feelings for family members and pets, which are often like a part of the family. In contrast, in Japanese, "ai shite iru" is either inappropriate or questionable in all the contexts mentioned, and "suki da" is the appropriate choice. An interesting development seems to be the greater acceptability of "ai shite iru" in a romantic sense (and possibly for family members?) among younger people who have adopted Western attitudes. In one sense, a comparison of this area of difference in the two languages is not completely fair because of the Japanese cultural tradition of not explicitly expressing such emotions linguistically. In another sense, however, this whole cultural tendency together with the language difference supports the Western impression of Japanese understatement or concealment of quantity.

A further distinction can be seen in the verb forms chosen to express degrees of being in a certain condition or state or of having a certain quality. The scale is perhaps not so meaningful in English, but when observed with respect to Japanese, it is significant.

E. ↑ be
↓ seem (to be)

F. ↑ da/desu
(verbal)+gatte iru,
(verb)+mitai,
(noun, adj., or verb)+soo da/desu,
↓ rashii

The following characterization can be made of the working of the members of this scale in English.

SEEM ?*I seem (to be) tired. He seems (to be) tired.
I am tired. He is tired.

In English, the word "seem" cannot be used with the first person, because a person supposedly knows what condition he is in and does not need to assess his own appearance. This is the only restriction of the use of this scale because in the second or third person, either item from the scale may be used. In accordance with

Gazdar's tests for implicatures, "seem" is defeasible with "be" and vice versa as in the following sentences.

14. He is tired, even though he doesn't seem to be.
15. He seems tired, but he is not.
16. He seems to be tired, and he is.

The scale in Japanese (F) does not offer itself to such freedom of application, as the sentences below will illustrate. In addition to the impossibility of "-gatte iru" or any of its variants with first person reference, the more definitive "da/desu" cannot be applied to statements of the condition or internal feelings of a second or third person (except in novels where the author and the reader have access to knowledge about the characters' internal feeings).

17. *Watashi wa samugatte iru. (I seem cold.) Kare wa samugatte iru. (He seems cold.)
18. Watashi wa samui desu. (I am cold.) *Kare wa samui desu. (He is cold.)

Moreover, in question formation "desu" can only be used in the second person since it is not logical to inquire the state of a third person (knowing that the person being asked cannot reply with "desu" anymore than the questioner can (Kuno 1973:83)). The sentences cited for English which show the defeasibility of the implicature cannot exist in Japanese, or at least are unnatural.

19. *Kare wa tsukarete iru keredomo tsukarete inai mitai.
(He is tired, even though he doesn't seem tired.)

Once again, this aspect of Japanese, from an English speaker's viewpoint, reveals a reluctance in Japanese to presume to evaluate something which cannot be known, and in the opposite way, English speakers may be interpreted by Japanese as overstating the facts.

The next scale I would like to explore is that of belief and knowing. Once more, essential differences can be seen to exist between the two languages, not just in the way speakers choose to use them, but in the constraints of their structural types. The respective scales are:

G. ↑ know
believe
think
↓ guess

H. ↑ shitte iru (wakatte iru)
to omou (daroo)
↓ kamo shirenai

To be able to discuss the English scale (G), it is necessary first to point out some specialized meanings of "know" and "think" which can be thought of as belonging to separate lexical domains and which, therefore, we should omit from consideration here. There seem to be four distinct classes of "knowing" and "thinking," of which only one allows contrastive distribution of the two words. The other three classes consist of special denotations of the words "know" and "think" and allow only one or the other in a sentence. The first of these is the expression of a personal opinion. Because of the intent to show opinion rather than knowledge, only "think" is possible (e.g., I think that's a pretty name. I think roses smell nice.). The second special case is that of mental activity where again only "think" is appropriate (e.g., He thinks a lot when he's alone. Sometimes I think in Japanese.). The other case of limited meaning is the exclusive use of "know" to literally show knowledge of facts (e.g., I know the answer. They know my name.). If we block these interpretations of the words on the scale, we will be left with sentences in which any of the words can be substituted contrastively according to speaker intent. They will be sentences such as the following, where the blank may be filled with any of these words: "know, believe, think, guess."

20. I ______ there was a full moon last night.
21. I ______ I'm going to be late.
22. I ______ he will arrive tomorrow.
23. I ______ it's going to rain today.
24. I ______ he's been up to something from the devilish look on his face.
25. I ______ she's been to the beach from the sand in her hair.
26. I ______ they've been drinking because they're walking in a strange way, singing loudly, and their eyes are red.

Similar to the other scales discussed earlier, this scale, in Japanese, contains more restrictions. If we try to include the words "shitte iru," "to omou," or "kamo shirenai" (see scale H) in the Japanese equivalents of the English sentences listed above, it will be found that "shitte iru" or "wakaru" are much more limited in distribution than is English "know" and that ungrammatical sentences will be created in some cases. In the translation of the first four English sentences, it is impossible to assert "shitte iru" unless a very specific contrastive context exists, and therefore, "to omou" is needed.

27. *Kinoo mangetsu datta to shitte iru.
28. *Watashi wa okureru to shitte iru.
29. *Kare ga ashita tsuku to shitte iru (wakatte iru).
30. *Kyoo wa ame da to shitte iru.

In the final three English sentences (24-26), apparently "adequate evidence" exists for an assertion; in fact, although "guess, think, believe" may be used in the sentences, "know" seems a much more natural and logical choice in English. If "wakatte iru" is used in the same sentences in Japanese, the meaning focus changes to have an emphasis on explaining how I know something rather than just stating the fact that I know it. But for the intended meaning of simply asserting that I know it, Japanese requires the weaker "to omou," in spite of the overwhelming evidence which is stated in the sentence. It can be surmised that making assertions of knowledge is considered forward or impolite and that extreme ends of the scale are avoided for this pragmatic reason. Regard for one's impression on the hearer and respect for the hearer prevent stronger statements. From the Japanesse viewpoint, it might be felt that Americans can accurately "know" the future, as in the second, third, and fourth sentences, and that they have the capability of converting conjecture into fact, as in the last three sentences. For this reason, Americans may sound overly authoritative to Japanese, and Japanese, in contrast, may sound noncommital to Americans.

The examples which have been discussed so far are some of the easier ones to cite because they reflect how the language itself enforces boundaries or sets constraints on the ways people can speak. These examples demonstrate the manner whereby purely linguistic rules create certain behavior patterns in communicative interaction. The final example I would like to present is much less concrete in that it derives from the language habits of Japanese people rather than the language rules. Because of the fact that no research is avilable to prove the validity of the next example, I would simply suggest that impressionistically, it seems to be a part of the two cultures in the way outlined below. Again, in these scales, a very general tendency may be found.

I.	J.	K.	L.
always	itsumo	all	zenbu
usually	hotondo	most	daitai
often	taitei	some	tashoo
sometimes	tokidoki	a few	chotto
once in a while	tama ni	few	hon no-chotto
rarely	taitei nai	none	zenzen

These two scales in the respective languages can basically be said to be of the same type. The upper and lower ends of the scales show the absolute values or positions of extreme strength while the middle sections show moderate values. Lacking any evidence besides impression, I only present my own assessment of how the two cultures use these scales. It is that Americans quite easily and quite often employ members standing at the scales' extreme ends even when the truth value of what they are saying is (and is understood to be) somewhat weaker. This tendency can be understood more readily if we posit two possible truth values for those words. One is a global or absolute value as in, "She will never walk again." "The pomegranites always ripen in the fall." "All species of alligators have that type of teeth." In these sentences, the quantity words can be interpreted at face value. The other, more common value of the same words occurs when they are context delimited, and even though they are stated as absolutes, their global value is understood to extend only to the boundaries of the particular context for which they are being used. Some examples and their understood contexts are:

31. That student never opens his mouth. (in this class)
32. No one rides a horse to work anymore. (at least in this city)

However, other statements can be made which cannot possibly be global, but whose context is difficult to determine, for example, "He never takes a bath." "He's always smiling." These are exaggerations and are possible in both Japanese and English.

In spite of the existence of this type of scalar exploitation in Japanese, it is rather more limited. The tendency of English speakers to use extremes freely in many situations is replaced in Japanese with a tendency to use extremes only in relatively informal contexts, reserving the more moderate expressions for the majority of situations. In other words, it appears possible to hypothesize that the scales in the two languages may be used identically, but are not.

If this hypothesis were duly checked by frequency studies of the occurrence and context of occurrence of the words in these scales and then proven to be correct, it would support the view that Japanese prefer understatement and have a stronger preference for using words from the scale which are near the truth value. Americans, in contrast, would be shown to enjoy using overstatement in both directions, positive and negative. If the contexts of usage could be described, it might be determined that pragmatics has a major influence on Japanese choice. Similar to the earlier examples with Japanese "zettai" and "kitto" (definitely) (scale B), it is not considered polite or respectful under certain conditions in Japanese culture to use strong statements, even when they are called for by the quantity maxim.

A couple of other bits and pieces should be mentioned because of the interesting contrast they provide to English. On the scale of obligation: [must--should--can], the absolute end "must" or its synonym "have to" is often used in English, and its Japanese counterpart "(verb)+nakereba naranai" is used in similar fashion. But it is interesting to note that while they are used in parallel ways in the two languages, the potency of this strongest member of the scale in Japanese in its literal translation is somewhat weaker and less absolute than English "must." It can be literally interpreted as, "if (I)don't (verb), things won't work out." Still we see the Japanese avoidance of forceful wording or overstatement.

Now, just when we think we have found sufficient examples to explain the common Western perception of the Japanese as being vague or inscrutable, plentiful other examples crop up in the language which would prove that they are sometimes more explicit in language use than we are. Take the following most common way of asking the time as one instance.

33.	Ima nan ji desu ka? (Now what time is it?)	Ima desu ka? Go ji desu. (You mean now? It's five.)

This time we are puzzled not by the vagueness of the exchange, but rather by the time deixis which is twice made overt. In English, even once would be unnecessary. This overtness is a seeming contradiction to what has been claimed here thus far, but actually it appears that the repetition of such words in conversation serves an important pragmatic function, that of slightly distancing the giving of a direct answer and thereby softening its force. Numerous other information questions such as asking a price, someone's height, or the name of something may very often elicit similar deictically repetitive responses.

Interpretation

Having looked at various samplings of the language and how they are used, we will now return to the hypotheses posited earlier. It has been suggested, by use of the preceding examples, that the three conversational maxims of quality, quantity and manner operate distinctly in Japanese and English. The scale of [definitely--probably--possibly] may be tempered by context in English, but Americans use it more to fit the semantic qualities required of the situation. The extreme members of the scale of frequency and quantity (always-all/never-none) in English are in relatively free variation with lesser members of the scale without strict regard for truth values. The Japanese, with respect to both of these scales, show speech dominated by context constraints which demand more rigid application of truth values in the choice of words or allow understatement much more easily than overstatement. This understatement also exists lexically in the Japanese word for "must". The scale of "love-like" (and we could include "dislike-hate") reflects an area in Japanese where understatement is not only preferred, but required by the culture. In this case the quality as well as the quantity maxims need revising (in particular, because of the tendency not to even codify feelings such as this linguistically). In English, it is obligatory to express the feeling of love in words and to express it with a word of adequate scalar strength. The scales of "be-seem" and "know-think" in Japanese must be employed according to truth values taken literally. In English, a word of higher standing than the truth value may be used without any anomaly in the communication. The quality maxim should be more stringently worded for Japanese because "adequate evidence" does not weigh equally as in English.

It becomes obvious that either the maxims can be rewritten to describe appropriately the communication process in specific languages or they can be retained as they stand with reinterpretation of the sub-rules. According to the way Japanese interaction operates, the following revisions may be postulated. To the quantity maxim could be added a sub-rule such as the following. "Certain inner emotions are expected to be left unspoken, or if spoken, should be represented by a somewhat weaker point of the scale. Make your contribution as informative as you can without being presumptuous." (To avoid appearing presumptuous in Japanese culture, one should not make long assertions in polite interaction, but rather curtail responses to a quantity of minimal adequacy.) Silence, traditionally, has been much more revered by the Japanese than by Westerners. As for the quality maxim, for English speakers, it should be noted that flouting is easily allowed, or in other words: "Do not state that for which you lack adequate evidence, but if you have some evidence you are free to overstate what you know." In Japanese it would have to be: "Even if you have adequate evidence for stating something, do not state it assertively or forcefully. Downplay what you know." And lastly, the manner maxim would describe Japanese better if it said, "Slight ambiguity or obscurity should be the goal of respectful utterances." Overall, these types of maxim revisions point to the conclusion that there is generally less absoluteness in Japanese, and that the well-known Buddhist concept of "moderation in all things," although perhaps not a direct influence on the language, is a description apropos of how Japanese is used by its speakers. The cultural propensity for avoidance of conflict and maintenance of harmony is certainly reflected in the language through this eschewal of the making of strong assertions. The tendency of young people in Japan today to use words of stronger scalar position (e.g., "zettai, mattaku") may betoken the gradual acceptance of the use of more emotional expressions in speech and a gradual cultural change toward the acceptance of individual-based behavior rather than the traditional group orientation.

Conclusions

The world view of each cultural group of people is formed by a combination of objective reality and the subjective categorizations and interpretations imposed upon it by the group. The manner in which certain aspects of language are employed and the purposes of interaction, therefore, are determined by properties relative to each peculiar human social context and conceptual system. In crossing cultural boundaries, communication is bound to be fraught with the difficulties presented by these differing conceptualizations of the world and human functioning within it. The only way to overcome these difficulties is by means of constant broadening of our experiential filters to allow new forms of perception and signification to become meaningful.

In language, two lines of research exist, both of which will provide abundant evidence of the nature of culture-specific ways of producing meaning. One is an examination of the operation of symbolic forms in the language itself. By contrasting syntactic and semantic or lexical patterns and constraints of one language with those of another, much can be understood. The other area is on the level of discourse and deals not with the linguistic constraints, but with the social and contextual limitations and freedoms which are allowed to govern the use of linguistic forms. Both of these aspects of language, its form and its use, should lead to acquisition of the same information, as well as provide complementary accounts of the most representative facets of the culture displayed in the language.

Of course, the characterization of a single language and culture in this way does not have much import if presented in isolation. It must be presented in comparison with a differing system. The meaningfulness of Japanese traits is of interest here particularly because of the points of contrast between Japanese and English. More concrete investigations would add further support to the tendencies suggested here. They might include comparative statistical frequency studies of the occurrence of the extreme members of the scale versus the moderate members in both languages. Also, native speaker judgments of acceptability or grammaticality could be tested using scalar members in contexts which purportedly disobey the characterizations made here. Another possibility would be to give native speakers sentences that break the constraints that exist and ask them to imagine and supply possible contexts. In addition, since Grice's maxims were written by an English speaker and we have seen here how they might vary within an "inscrutable" Oriental context, it would be interesting to make comparisons in other directions by examining implicatures from other cultures which need similar explication of the stereotyped views we hold of them.

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A NEW LOOK AT OLD ENGLISH METRICS

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Abstract: In this paper I propose a scansion of Old English alliterative poetry in terms of a binary branching template. The analysis builds on work by Halle and Keyser (1971) and Maling (1971), but has two advantages over these analyses: (a) it provides a natural explanation of many apparently irregular verses, and (b) it makes more accurate predictions of the relative frequencies of different verse types.

If a *metrical* line of verse is one which 'typically divides into an integral number of repeated sequences' (Prince 1984:1), then Old English alliterative poetry presents a real challenge to the metrist, as neither the nature nor the number of its 'repeated sequences' is at all obvious. This paper is an attempt to describe the regularities of this particularly recalcitrant meter using principles of modern metrics. All examples are from *Beowulf*, a corpus comprising 3182 lines, composed in the eighth century; the text is Klaeber's third edition, one of the most conservative in terms of emendations.

1. The Problem

Old English verse is stichic, the largest metrical domain being the line, which is divided into two half-lines (or verses, or hemistichs), called for convenience the a-line and the b-line.[1] In the unmarked case, each half-line contains exactly two word-level stresses (with a number of lesser-stressed syllables), and the two stresses of the a-line (the *supports*) alliterate with the first stress of the b-line (the *head stave*). Two stressed syllables alliterate if they (a) share the same initial consonant, (b) share the same initial *s*-plus-obstruent cluster, or (c) begin with any vowel or *h*. In addition, *k* alliterates with *c*, and velar and palatal *g* alliterate with each other.

Thus far the pattern is straightforward: it remains to explore its difficulties. First of all, half-lines are resistant to any definition other than as a metrical abstraction. While clause boundaries usually coincide with half-line boundaries, and half-lines frequently consist of a single phrasal constituent, neither tendency is general

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enough to serve as a definition. The most that can be said is that the half-line breaks (almost) always coincide with at least one phrase boundary, as shown in (1).

(1) [$_{VP}$ egsode [$_{NP}$ eorlas] [$_{S}$ syððan aerest wearð
[$_{VP}$ feasceaft funden]]] [$_{S}$ he þaes frofre gebad]
B.6-7
'he terrified warriors even though he first was
found an orphan; for this came a remedy'

Verses 6a and 6b are separated by an NP and at least one S boundary; 6b and 7a, by a VP boundary alone; and 7a and 7b, by two VP and two S boundaries. But even this generalization has exceptions, as shown in (2)-(3):

(2) [$_{S}$ ne hyrde ic [$_{S}$ cymlicor ceol gegyrwan]]
B.38
'I have not heard better a ship to be decked'

(3) [$_{S}$ Nalaes hi hine [$_{NP}$ laessan lacum] teodan]
B.43
'Nor did they for-him lesser gifts provide'

Line 38 divides an adverb from the verb it modifies (indeed, from the rest of the clause containing that verb); line 43 divides a noun phrase between adjective and noun.

The half-line is then not a syntactic unit; but it is no easier to define phonologically. The number of syllables in a verse ranges from two, as in the anomalous 2488a, *hreas blac*, through a norm of four or five to a maximum of ten, as in 1164b, *þa gyt waes hiera sib aetgaedere*.[2] Nor does it simplify matters very much to count only stressed syllables, for, even exclusive of dubious cases, the number of word stresses in a half-line may vary from one to three:

(4) hu ða áeþelingas B.3a
'how the princes'

éarfoðlice B.86b
'eagerly'

(5) bláed wíde spráng B.18b
'his fame spread wide'

fáeder éllor hwéarf B.55b
'his father having passed away'

For the same reason it is impossible to define half-lines in terms of phonological word boundaries.

What evidence is there then, beyond the purely scribal, for the existence of half-lines, or indeed lines? O'Neil[3] points out that recurring formulae occupy one half-line or the other (more rarely a full line) but do not straddle half-line or line boundaries. The line, furthermore, is the domain of alliteration, which serves to link the two half-lines together into one larger unit. Traditional metrists would add that the half-line is the domain in which stressed and unstressed syllables pattern rhythmically, but the reality of these patterns is to date at least questionable. The status of unstressed syllables will be discussed more thoroughly below.

Turning now to the alliteration, it is true that when an a-line contains two primary stresses, both of the stressed syllables usually alliterate with the head stave. But it is quite common for the first such stress to alliterate alone, or much more rarely, for the second stress to do so; there are even a few b-lines whose alliteration falls on the second stress. An a- or b-line containing only one word stress, obviously, alliterates on that stress; verses with three word stresses may alliterate on one of them, or (in the case of an a-line) on two, in various combinations. Alliteration, then, though obviously a 'repeated sequence' with some sort of metrical significance, does not present us with an 'integral number' of predictable occurrences.

The question of what counts as a word stress is a vexed one, complicated by attempts to force verses with one or three lexical stresses to conform to a two-stress pattern. The stress rules of Old English are deduced largely from the alliterative patterns themselves, although diachronic changes which were sensitive to stress provide some additional evidence. Here we will assume Halle and Keyser's (1971) account, which may be summarized as follows:

(a) Old English had an initial stress rule which applied to the word stem.

(b) This was combined with a stress retraction rule which moved main stress from the stem to a prefix, mainly in derived nouns and adjectives. The prefix ge (possibly for and be as well) was invisible to it.

(c) The compound stress rule was identical to that of Modern English.

All of these rules tell us the location of primary stress (word or compound stress); information about secondary stress is far more elusive, since secondary stresses, while debatably of metrical significance, do not participate in the alliteration, and so cannot be located with any accuracy. Most of the traditional metrists -- Sievers (1905), Pope (1942), and Bliss (1962), to mention a few -- treat Old English as though it were quantity-sensitive. They assume, for example, a secondary stress on the heavy derivative suffixes of words like *ǽþelìngas*, 'princes'. The metrists working within the generative tradition -- Keyser (1969), Halle and Keyser (1971), Maling (1971) -- do not recognize secondary stress as metrically significant, even on second elements of compounds. Some arguments for the importance of secondary stress will be presented below.

Another still more fundamental schism between the traditional and the generative schools of scansion concerns the status of unstressed syllables. Traditional metrical analyses of *Beowulf* maintain that the 'falls' -- sequences of one or more unstressed syllables occurring around the 'lifts' or (primary) stressed syllables -- are rule-governed in position, length and composition. The more modern generative analyses ignore the unstressed syllables altogether, claiming that they are irrelevant to the meter. The question remains open, though a few possibilities will be discussed in section 5 below.

2. The Halle and Keyser Scansion

The most important of the generative theories is that of Halle and Keyser (1971). The authors present an account which is not only revolutionary but also strong and explicit, making it an excellent point of departure for discussion. Their rules are summarized below; recall that only primary stresses are considered to have metrical ictus.

A. Abstract Metrical Pattern Rules
   1. A verse-line [a *line* -- AKH] is composed of a first and second half-line.
   2. The first half-line is composed of (X)*X.
      ['By starring the parentheses we indicate the fact that when the enclosed material is omitted the line is more rather than less complex.' (Halle and Keyser 1971:149)]
   3. The second half-line is composed of X(W)*.

B. Correspondence Rules
   1. Each X corresponds to a single S,
      or
      One X in a half-line may correspond to an S and a W in either order.

   Definition: If in two or more stressed syllables the zero or more consonants that precede the vowel are identical or begin with an identical consonant or s-cluster, the syllables alliterate.

   2. Syllables in S positions alliterate; syllables in W positions do not alliterate.

C. Conditions
   1. No half-line is shorter than two syllables.
   2. If a line contains a line-internal clause or sentence boundary, the boundary must coincide with that of the half-line.

(Halle and Keyser 1971:153-4)

These rules allow 35 different templates for the line, containing a minimum of two (SS) and a maximum of six (e.g., SSWWSW) metrical positions.

One advantage of Halle and Keyser's approach is that it allows such problematic lines as B2488, *hreas blac; hond gemunde*, B.386, *Beo ðu on ofeste, hat in gan*, and B.376, *heard her cumen, sohte holdne wine*,[4] to be considered metrical, though technically complex. This very elasticity, unfortunately, predicts the occurrence of a number of line types that are nowhere attested. Halle and Keyser are unable to find exemplars of

(6) WSSSWW
    WSSWSW
    WSSWS
    SWSSWW
    SWSWSW
    SWSWS

admittedly among the most complex in terms of their tension index; nor can they explain why there are no half-lines consisting of single disyllabic or trisyllabic non-compound words: in their view *guma* might as well be a half-line as *ealdordagum*.

Moving from empirical to theoretical problems, if X is the basic unit, it is certainly curious that a subpart of X (i.e., W) occurs in the template. Halle and Keyser found only 652 b-lines without final W -- roughly 20 percent of the total; this number dwindles to near-zero if the large number of final compounds are scanned with two stresses. On the other hand, there are 1659 a-lines with single alliteration (hence only one X). This amounts to 48 percent of a-lines. Apparently (W)* is much more obligatory than (X)*, but Halle and Keyser have no way to capture this difference.

Let us examine the authors' 'W' more closely. W in the a-line may be freely present or absent; it may occur before or after one or two S positions, or between two S positions. It would seem that W is simply irrelevant metrically, save for one thing: the a-line contains a maximum of one W. Therefore the occurrence of W is not free and must be constrained in the rule system. But this one fact about W is the one Halle and Keyser's expansion rules do not capture naturally: they must add a special condition limiting the number of Ws that may be generated.

In fact, it seems that Halle and Keyser's observation may be wrong. Joan Maling cites a number of three-stress a-lines containing two W positions, as shown in (7). There are almost as many WSW verses as Halle and Keyser found SWS, and SWW is likewise attested. This is not a trivial problem for Halle and Keyser. If one X in a half-line consists of either S or W, while the other consists of S, SW, or WS, something is seriously wrong with the definition of X.

(7) W S W
Haefdon swurd nacod B.539a
'We had swords naked'

W S W
Heht ða eorla hleo B1035a
Het ða eorla hleo B2190a
'Then the protector of earls commanded'

W S W
Ða com non dagas B.1600a
'Then the ninth hour of the day came'

W S W
Gewat þa twelfa sum B.2401a
'One of the twelve departed then'

```
S       W          W
stiðra naegla gehwylc                B.985a
'each of strong nails'
```

What about W in the b-line? Here, by contrast, the position of W is more or less fixed: in the unmarked case, (one) W occurs to the right of S. The absence of this W is felt to complicate the line tremendously. (If we allow second elements of compounds to participate in the metrical patterning, the number of b-lines lacking this position is on the order of one percent. Halle and Keyser have tried to simplify the data by ignoring secondary stresses, but I believe this is misguided. More on this below.) Clearly the final W of the b-line has a different status than any W in the a-line. This is the fact Halle and Keyser try to capture with their ( )* notation.

By Halle and Keyser's rules, the only obligatory elements of the line are one S position in each half-line. Other facts, equally important but similarly obscured by the theory, are the following:

(a) The number of stresses in a half-line is usually two, but never more than three.

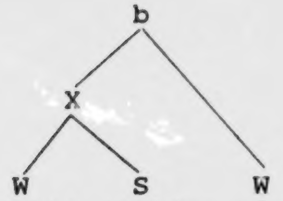
(b) There are never more than two Ss in the a-line, and never more than one in the b-line.

(c) The b-line contains a W position to the right of its S so often that we may as well call it obligatory (though see below).

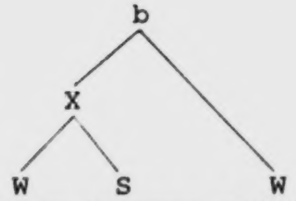
Halle and Keyser's use of an abstract metrical entity X gives an implicit constituent structure to the patterning of terminal S and W. Although it must be noted that they do not intend X to correspond to a syntactic grouping or a metrical foot, their rule system does look very much like a phrase structure grammar, and it would certainly be a point in their favor were the abstract X to correspond to some independently motivated grouping of terminal nodes. After all, any sense of a repeated sequence depends on X (or its obligatory daughter, S); insofar as there are 35 different expansions of the (X)*X X(W)* pattern, it would certainly be less of a strain on the poet's memory if the groupings had some psychological reality.

It turns out, however, that the groupings imposed by X often contradict syntactic bracketings, especially in b-lines (where the templates are necessarily left-branching):

(8)



sohte [holdne wine] B.376b
'he sought trusty friends'



secg [weorce gefeh] B.1569b
'man rejoiced in work'

The other possibility, that X corresponds to a foot, runs into difficulties with the optional elements of the pattern. If final W in the b-line is an optional extrametrical (non-footed) element, why is it not missing more often, and why is its absence felt to complicate the line? The optional X, which cannot be extrametrical, is still harder to justify, though similar solutions have been proposed more than once.[5] Halle and Keyser suggest a most peculiar precedent.

They claim, first of all, that Old English poetry has much in common with Modern English nursery rimes [sic] -- a truly astonishing statement, considering that nursery rhymes typically display a very regular isochronous meter, while the meter of Beowulf is distinguished by the irregularity of its stresses. At any rate, Halle and Keyser scan the familiar day-counting rhyme XXX(X), as shown in (9).

(9) Thirty days hath September
X X X
April, June and November
X X X
All the rest have thirty-one
X X X X
While February's days are twenty-nine.
X X X X

This seems to me to be the wrong scansion entirely. There is no shift from three beats to four beats, surely. The poem has four beats per line throughout, with one of two possible adjustments filling out the deficient lines:[6] either hath in the first line and and in the second are given heavy (metrical) stress, or else there is a silent beat at the end of each of the first two lines. It is very unnatural indeed to recite this poem without doing either of these things.[7]

Returning to the status of X as a grouping mechanism, a third option is to re-foot the Halle and Keyser patterns into something more closely resembling Liberman and Prince stress trees, which mirror syntactic bracketing.[8] This is, in effect, what Joan Maling has done, although she uses SPE numerical notation throughout.

3. Maling's Scansion

Maling (1971) points out that one of the flaws in Halle and Keyser's theory is its inability to predict the position of Ss in a line. A three-stress a-line, for instance, could align with the template as SSW, WSS, or SWS, constrained not even by the complexity metric (see section 4). 'Certain primary stresses,' says Maling (1971:380), 'are said to fill S positions because they alliterate, and to alliterate because they fill S positions. This circular definition ignores the regularities of alliterative patterns.'

Maling suggests that the Modern English rule of Compound Stress,

(10) $\overset{1}{V} \rightarrow 1/[_{A}\ X \ \_\_\ YVZ]$,

where A ranges over lexical and syntactic categories and Z contains no 1 stress (Maling 1971:381),

applied in Old English not only to compound words but also to phrasal categories such as NP, VP and S. To this she adds a convention that

> [i]n any half-line, a word bearing 1-stress must alliterate; in initial half-lines, a word bearing 2-stress may alliterate, and will do so approximately 70% of the time.[9] Words bearing

> less than 2-stress never alliterate.
> (Maling 1971:391)

The combination is surprisingly successful.

Maling's examples are very compelling. She begins with a survey of half-lines consisting of noun phrases, pointing out that two-stress NPs (adjective-noun or noun-noun combinations, either order) without exception alliterate either on the first word or on both. Assuming the compound rule, these phrases are stressed 1-2 and thus conform to her alliteration convention.

Out of 13 three-stress NPs with the constituent structure of (11), all of them alliterate as Maling predicts.

(11) S S W (Halle and Keyser notation)
maga [mane fah] B.978a
1 2 3
'man guilty of crime'

Out of four three-stress NPs bracketed as in (12), one is a b-line and one an a-line with single alliteration on the first formative,[10] and the other two have double alliteration as predicted.

(12) S W S
[twelf wintra] tid B.147a
1 3 2
'twelve winters' time'

Three-stress noun phrases with no internal bracketing -- typically consisting of a head noun, an adjective which agrees with the head, and a genitive noun/NP, in any of several possible orders -- unfortunately require a special metrical convention. Maling's rules stress such combinations 1-2-2 (stress rules apply cyclically after all rules of syntax except verb movement), so that one would expect SWS and SSW patterns to be equally numerous and even SSS to be possible. In fact 11 out of 12 a-lines are SSW and both b-lines SWW. (The twelfth a-line is SWS.) Maling simply stipulates that the first of two equal stresses, or the first two words of such a noun phrase, are preferred for the purpose of alliteration, with no further discussion.

On the domains of VP and S, Maling assumes an SOV deep structure and orders verb movement after stress assignment, in order to account for the fact that the verb is never the obligatory S position, even when initial. This is quite a clever solution to a very troublesome problem: the status of verbs has been a stumbling-block in every theory proposed to date. Verbs frequently share in the alliteration, but at the same time, verses whose second stress of two alliterates alone, or whose second and third stresses of three co-alliterate, always have a verb as their first stressed element. The verb is somehow not a preferred alliteration-bearer, a fact Maling captures by manipulating rule ordering to deny it 1-stress.[11]

Maling notes that the proposed SOV base structure entails that Old English had no Nuclear Stress Rule. She speculates that

> English developed an NSR as a result of the change in base order from SOV to SVO, and that the domain of the NSR was then extended to include the other syntactic categories; but this leaves unexplained the introduction of the NSR into German.
> (Maling 1971:382, fn. 1)

She goes on to note that German retains the Compound Stress Rule on the VP; it is not unreasonable to assert that Old English employed it for NP and S.

At any rate, Maling's theory makes the correct prediction in the vast majority of cases. For instance, in verses consisting of object plus verb, there is always either double alliteration or alliteration of the object alone.

(13) S S
gomban gyldan B.11a
1 2
'tribute to pay'

S W
dream gehyrde B.88b
1 2
'laughter (he) heard'

In verb-plus-object combinations, single alliteration usually falls on the object:

(14) W S
Gemunde ða ða are B.2606a
2 1
'then he remembered the property'

The same patterns hold of subject-verb and verb-subject combinations: in the former, single alliteration is always, and in the latter almost always, on the subject. (The 30 exceptions, in all of which an initial verb alliterates instead of a following subject or object, will be discussed shortly.)

In parallel cases where the verse has three stresses because of an adjective or genitive in the NP, single alliteration always falls on the first element of the NP, as predicted.

(15) S W W
[sunu deoð] wrecan B.1278b
1 3 2
'son's death to avenge'

W S W
wiste [his fingra geweald] B.764b
2 1 3
'knew his fingers' strength'

If the verb is final, double alliteration falls on the first element of the NP and the verb, again as predicted:

(16) S W S
[seofon niht] swuncon B.517a
1 3 2
'for seven nights (he) toiled'

When the verb is initial, double alliteration usually falls on the first element of the NP and the verb:

(17) S S W
yðde [eotena cyn] B.421a
2 1 3
'destroyed ettins' kin'

but frequently falls on the two elements of the NP instead:

(18) W S S
haefde [mare maegen] B.518a
2 1 3
'had greater strength'

And finally, in half-lines containing a full clause -- subject, object and verb -- double alliteration always falls on subject and object, single alliteration on whichever NP comes first. There are no exceptions to this last pattern.

To summarize, the problems for Maling's theory are as follows:

(a) She needs an ad hoc rule to account for the SSW alliterations of three-stress noun phrases without internal structure.

There is also one exception to her rule: the following verse is SWS.

(19) S W S
heard swyrd hilted B.2987a
1 2 2
'hard, hilted sword'

(b) There are 30 cases of a two-stress verse with initial verb and following subject (10 cases) or object (20) where the verb alliterates alone. (These contrast with at least 140 cases where the subject or object alliterates alone.) Most of them are b-lines.

(20) S W
Gemunde þa se goda B.758a
2 1
'Then the good (one) remembered'

(c) There are 16 examples of verb-plus-complex NP where the two elements of the NP co-alliterate instead of the first such element and the verb. (The latter pattern occurs 28 times.) Again, most of them are b-lines.

There are a couple of additional problems concerning which Maling gives insufficient information for a thorough analysis. For instance, in discussing [N (N) V]$_{VP}$ -- a verb phrase with an extra (indirect or prepositional) object -- she states, 'I found 139 half-lines where the verb co-alliterates with the initial noun, and 1126 half-lines where the initial noun alone alliterates, of which 87 are first half-lines, and 1039 are second half-lines' (Maling 1971:393). All of the examples she gives are [N V]$_{VP}$; thus it is impossible to tell whether [N N V]$_{VP}$ ever occurs in the first half-line. If it does, there is apparently no N-N alliteration, which is certainly surprising in view of Maling's metrical convention for [N A Gen]$_{NP}$. Another construction that Maling glosses over is V N Inf, of which she says, 'There are about 25 examples of this sequence, of varying syntactic structure, including simple modal verbs which take an infinitive. Whether object or subject of the infinitive, it is the noun which alliterates' (Maling 1971:397). She lists only six examples, most of which I would bracket V [N Inf]. It is difficult to tell whether the bracketing or the stressing is correct in the absence of double alliteration, though we may reliably put 1-stress on the N. These examples will be discussed further in the next section.

4. A Solution

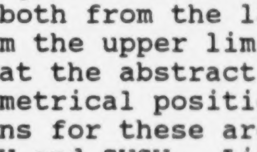
Maling's analysis, though ingenious, is still subject to some of the specific criticisms leveled at Halle and Keyser in section 2, and has in addition the set of empirical problems just discussed. The goal at this point is to invent a theory which will avoid the former while accounting for the latter. In this section I will propose a first approximation to such a theory.

First of all, I think we must reject the idea of a line containing a variable number of metrical positions. It seems clear, both from the large number of two-stress half-lines and from the upper limit on number of alliterating syllables, that the abstract metrical template must contain exactly four metrical positions, two in each half-line. The normal patterns for these are, in Halle and Keyser's notation, SSSW and SWSW. Lines never contain an extra S position; stresses that Halle and Keyser describe as additional Ws we will show to be extrametrical.

Two facts need accounting for with respect to our two metrical patterns. First, why does the b-line always have a fixed final W? and secondly, why is the second metrical position in the a-line sometimes W and sometimes S?

To explain the difference between a- and b-lines and combine the two templates into one, I propose that we change our notation slightly and add some hierarchical structure. Let us define S and W, not as alliterating and non-alliterating word stresses, but simply as strong and weak metrical positions. Let us further group them into a strong and a weak foot, as shown in (21).

(21)



The terminal nodes, SWSW, represent four metrical positions which map onto stressed syllables. The higher level structure serves three important purposes. First, it ties the four metrical positions together into one domain for the purpose of alliteration. Second, it groups the terminal nodes into two feet corresponding to the two half-lines. And third, the higher level labelling differentiates the first or strong half-line from the second or weak half-line.[12] The a-line is strong in that it shows a great deal more freedom in its alignments to actual verses; moreover, its terminal nodes participate more heavily in the line's alliteration. The rule of alliteration has a natural formulation:

(22) Terminal Ss must alliterate with each other; W dominated by S may also alliterate; W dominated by W does not alliterate.

Assuming that this template is the correct one, and that we can write correspondence rules explaining how it maps onto the diverse line types which occur in Beowulf (and no others), we now have a representation of an Old English verse line that conforms to Prince's generalizations about foot-based meter. Consider:

> I admit a limited set of categories of structure (metrical position, foot, metron), hierarchically related, whose iteration determines a metrical pattern. Structural articulation is assumed to be maximal, i.e., binary. A strength-weakness relation (S/W) is imposed on sister nodes, determining strong and weak metrical positions and, in certain cases, strong and weak feet within a superordinate metron. The strength relation is constrained by [a] principle of uniformity: within a metron (pair of sister feet) a single pattern of strength-weakness obtains at both levels; e.g. in a metron of iambic feet, the feet themselves are related [WS].
> (Prince 1984:1)

Notice, too, that most of the problems of Halle and Keyser's account have been resolved. For instance,

(a) One alliterating position (S in their terms, but to avoid confusion I will confine S and W to my sense during this discussion) in each half-line is obligatory. There is one position of obligatory alliteration (S) in each foot or half-line.

(b) There is a maximum of three word-level stresses per half-line. The third stress, being unaligned, is simply extrametrical. There cannot be a fourth stress because this would induce an extra foot -- an unacceptable aberration. ('Ghost feet' will be discussed more thoroughly when we formulate the correspondence rules.)

(c) There are never more than two alliterating positions in an a-line, and one in a b-line. Since each foot is binary and the nature of the two Ws is different with regard to alliteration, the upper limit follows naturally.

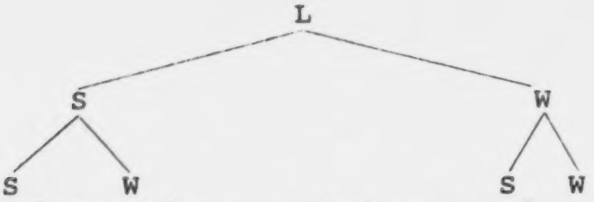
(d) A final, non-alliterating stress in the b-line (Halle and Keyser's (W)*) is far less likely to be absent than a second alliterating position (Halle and Keyser's (X)*) in the a-line. Again, the template specifies a final non-alliterating position in the weak half-line, whose alignments are much harder to shift; but W in the first half-line may be freely alliterating or non-alliterating, giving the illusion of an optional (X)* corresponding to an alliterating syllable.

(e) Contrary to Halle and Keyser, an a-line may contain two non-alliterating with one alliterating stress. The alliterating stress and one of the other two align with the template, the third is extrametrical. Such verses do occur.

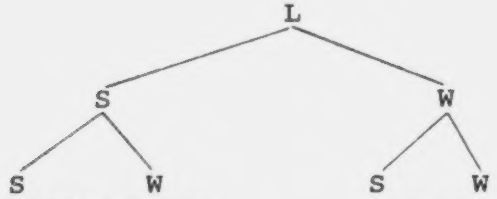
In the unmarked case, each terminal node aligns with a syllable bearing word stress in the appropriate half-line. With Maling and Cable (see section 5), we will assume the generality of the Compound Rule over phrases; we will also assume Maling's ordering of verb movement after stress assignment. And finally, we will adopt the hypothesis that, in verses of identical syntactic structure, the locus of single alliteration is consistently the S position; the W position aligns with whatever syllable co-alliterates with (independently motivated) S in verses having double alliteration. Terminal W is then considered to fall in that same position even when it does not alliterate.

And in fact we find that, in almost every case, terminal S aligns with the strongest stress in the verse -- whether designated as a 1-stress or a grid column or the DTE of a stress tree -- and terminal W maps onto the second strongest stress, which occurs to the right of the strongest.

(23)



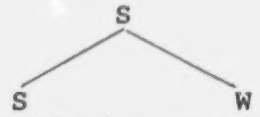
gomban gyldan; þaet waes god cyning B.11
1 2 1 2
'tribute to pay; that was a good king'



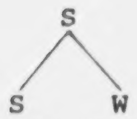
Grendles magan gang sceawigan B.1391
1 2 1 2
'of Grendel's kinsman the track to examine'

Most of the patterns Maling identifies in three-stress verses can be naturally accommodated with the above correspondence rule. The most subordinated of three word stresses remains unaligned and is simply extrametrical -- in an otherwise normal verse, it never alliterates:

(24)



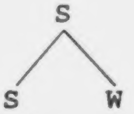
[twelf wintra] tid B.147a
1 3 2
'twelve winters' time'



maga [mane fah] B.978a
1 2 3
'man guilty of crime'

Where this correspondence rule is inadequate is in the numerous verses in which -- always because of verb movement -- the second strongest stress in the verse occurs not to the right of the 1-stress but to the left of it. In a two-stress verse, the result is

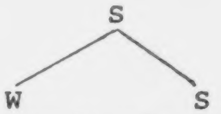
(25)



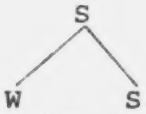
Gespraec þa se goda ? B.675a
2 1
'Then the good (one) spoke'

In the majority of a-lines of this sort, the foot simply inverts, aligning as WS, with the second stress the locus of obligatory alliteration.

(26)



Gespraec þa se goda
2 1

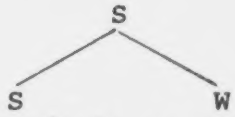


Setton saemeþe B.325a
2 1
'sea-weary ones set'

A verse with this alignment is technically more complex than an SW verse. Maling counts 1676 normal SW verses consisting of subject or object plus verb, and at most 417 WS verses consisting of verb plus subject or object.

There is one other adjustment that the SW foot can make to a 2-1 stress pattern. In 30 'exceptional' half-lines, the foot retains its SW structure and maps as is onto the rising stress contour:

(27)

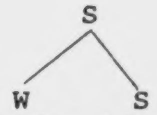


Gemunde þa se goda B.758a
2 1
'Then the good (one) remembered'

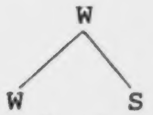
This mapping is relatively infrequent, and therefore we must consider a strong-weak mapping mismatch as more highly marked than foot inversion, at least for the a-line. Nearly all of the examples like (27) occur in the b-line; the mapping in (26), on the other hand, is more frequent in a-lines.

A similar paradigm appears in the case of three-stress verses with an initial verb and a complex NP. By the Compound Rule and verb movement, the stress pattern is 2-1-3. In fact, the first element of the NP alliterates alone in 89 cases (five of them a-lines) and the verb co-alliterates with the noun in 28 more. The normal adjustment thus seems to be

(28)



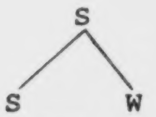
drefan [deop waeter] B.1904a
2 1 3
'stirring up deep water'



geseah [steapne hrof] B.926b
2 1 3
'he saw a steep roof'

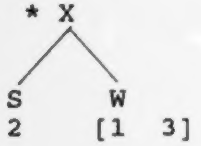
But this time the 16 'exceptional' cases involve mapping W to a 3-stress:

(29)



gebad [wintra worn] B.264a
2 1 3
'he experienced many winters'

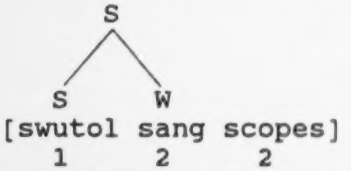
In this case the W, finding no 2-stress to the right, settles for a 3-stress. Again, the inverted foot is apparently preferable to any adjustment that involves aligning S with any but the strongest stress or W with any but the second strongest. The 1-3 option, since it involves only one such misalignment, is preferred to the 2-1 option (in non-inverted feet): there are no verses at all with the pattern

(30)


That is, there is no V $[N\ N]_{NP}$ (letting N range over N, A) where V alliterates alone. Notice, incidentally, that our theory accommodates those verses which contradict Maling's statement that 'words bearing less than a 2-stress never alliterate.'

We have the rudiments of a complexity metric here, though eventually we must account for the fact that b-lines are much less liable to inversion -- the least complex marked option -- than a-lines are. In section 5 we will consider a constraint disfavoring medial troughs, so that SWWS is a very complex pattern. For now, it is sufficient to note that in many other kinds of verse, the end of the line conforms more closely to the base metrical pattern.[13]

What about Maling's ad hoc metrical convention for three-stress NPs without internal structure? By her rules, this configuration is always stressed 1-2-2; she must stipulate, then, that double alliteration falls on the first two words and that triple alliteration is impossible. These facts fall out naturally from our template. We have already ruled out triple alliteration in a half-line by postulating a binary-branching template; now, if W is to map to a 2-stress to the right of S, surely there is no need to look beyond the first 2-stress. The normal mapping is

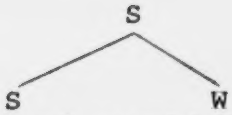
(31)


B.90a

'sweet song of the scop'

At the same time there is really nothing to prevent the W from aligning with the second 2-stress, should the poet permit it: in fact this does occur once in 12 examples of the construction. The numbers show that this is a marked option.

(32)



heard swyrd hilted B.2987a
1 2 2
'hard, hilted sword'

The one other sequence which presents problems for Maling is V N Inf, 'of varying syntactic structure, including simple modal verbs which take an infinitive' (Maling 1971:397). She counts 25 instances, in each case with the noun alliterating alone.

Of the six examples she cites, all are b-lines, making it impossible to tell with any accuracy where W aligns. One involves a modal:

(33) þa sceall brond fretan B.3014b
'then fire must consume'

Four have a matrix verb and dependent clause:

(34) leton holm beran B.48b
'let the ship bear off'

wolde hyre maeg wrecan B.1339b
'she wished to avenge her kinsman'

heht his sweord niman B.1808b
'commanded (him) to take his sword'

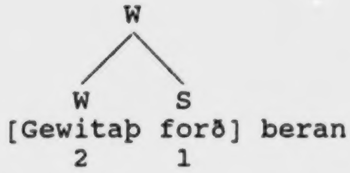
leton weg niman B.3132b
'let the wave take'

And the sixth has a complex verb:

(35) Gewitaþ forð beran B.291b
'depart forth to bear'

In the case of the modal, verb movement still seems plausible, yielding a 3-1-2 stress pattern by Maling's rules. This presents no problem for our template, which maps straightforwardly. In the four cases with a dependent clause, it is necessary to disallow cycling of stress assignment across a clause boundary, since in this case the matrix verb is apparently base-generated in initial position. The [N Inf] sequence then retains a 1-2 stress contour, and again mapping is straightforward, with the verb extrametrical. If this restriction of the cycle is correct, then the only possible mapping for the last example, B.291b, is

(36)



one of the few cases of an inverted foot in a b-line. It may be that the template somehow maps SW regardless, but in b-lines it is difficult to tell. In any case, this is not a problem for the theory.

All full-clause patterns align straightforwardly, as SW, since the verb is always least stressed on each cycle unless its two neighbors form a constituent, which is never the case when they are subject and object. Of the latter two, whichever comes first maps to S, the other to W, since the compound rule follows all NP movement rules.

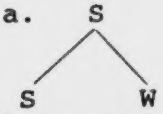
What remain to be discussed are the various verses containing a single formative: verses Maling, concerned with sentence stress, does not mention. Halle and Keyser, like most of the traditional metrists, accept these verses as fully metrical, though technically more complex than two-stress verses. Our concern now is to show how single-formative verses align with a binary template.

First of all, the majority of these verses contain a compound word. Halle and Keyser assume that the secondary stress in compounds has no metrical significance, simply because the second halves of compounds never alliterate. But as Bliss points out,

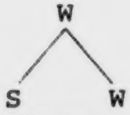
> Of course it is not to be expected that double alliteration should be very common, since the number of alliterating compound words is strictly limited, so that verses of this kind could scarcely exist at all if double alliteration were insisted on. (Bliss 1962:67)

Moreover, even Halle and Keyser do not attempt to deny that the vast majority of the verses in Beowulf contain two word stresses: surely it is reasonable to normalize verses whose only idiosyncrasy is that both word stresses occur in the same word. And finally, it has long been recognized that most of these verses are identical in rhythm to normal verses containing two independent word stresses. Compare

(37) a.

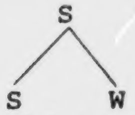


lange hwile B.16a
1 2
'for a long time'

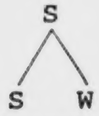


aþumsweoran B.84b
1 3
'to son-in-law and father-in-law'

b.

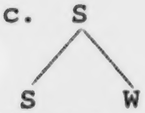


Oft Scyld Scefing B.4a
1 2
'Often Scyld Scefing'

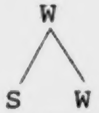


of feorwegum B.37a
1 3
'from distant parts'

c.



leof landfruma B.31a
1 2
'beloved leaders of nations'



landbuendum B.95b
1 3
'for earthdwellers'

Each pair of verses (reading across) is rhythmically identical;[14] in our terms, the verses containing compounds differ from the normal verses solely in the alignment of W with a 3-stress rather than a 2-stress. As currently formulated, our original correspondence rule accepts the compounds as instances of the base pattern: W must align with the second highest stress in the verse, which in this case happens to be a 3-stress. Although I have not yet done a formal count, such half-lines are very numerous indeed and could easily be unmarked.

Halle and Keyser neglect secondary stress on compounds for a very good reason: since they have no extrametrical stresses nor any mechanism for stress subordination, they face a tremendous complication in predicted patterns if they count compound words as having two metrical stresses. For instance,

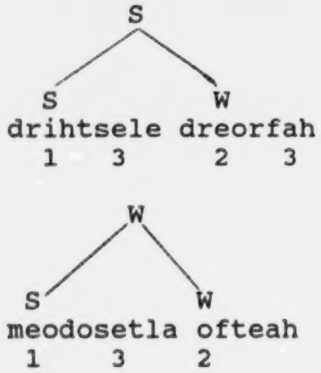
(38) drihtsele dreorfah B.485a
'the splendid hall stained with blood'

and

(39) meodosetla ofteah B.5b
'seized meadbenches'

would have to be SWSW and SWW respectively, instead of simple SS and SW. In the present theory the problem does not arise. In the verses cited, the second elements of the compounds do not align with the template and hence are extrametrical, because *a stronger stress is available* whenever a compound and another formative share a half-line.

(40)

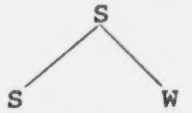


The second element of a compound has metrical ictus only in default of an independent content word.

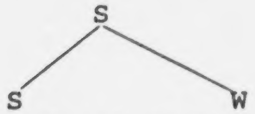
When it does participate in the metrical mapping, the second half of a compound is always W and the first half S, since, as we have seen, even a *mis*alignment of W with a 3-stress must be strongly preferred to a mapping which misaligns both branches of the foot as well as inverting it. Fortunately neither foot *requires* W to alliterate. Interestingly, the recurrent formulae in *Beowulf* are frequently compounds or two-word phrases in which the first element varies to fit the requirements of alliteration: for instance, *Beorht-Dena*, *Gar-Dena*, *Hring-Dena* (Bright Danes, Spear Danes, Ring Danes), all designating the same tribe.[15] If the poet has memorized a stock of compounds to fill out lines as he chants, it is useful to have them interchangeably appropriate for a-lines and b-lines; Reed goes so far as to suggest that formulae are among the least marked of all metrical patterns.[16]

On the subject of compounds, notice that our notion of why four-stress verses are prohibited -- because they are ambiguously one foot or two -- makes a prediction about the distribution of compounds in three-formative verses. A compound in such a verse may come first, since the W will pass over its second element to align with a heavier stress to the right; it cannot come last, lest it align as an SW 'ghost foot' on its own account. A medial compound is probably ruled out for similar reasons, though it is dubious whether a WS foot straddling the second half of the compound and the following word could actually be constructed (or perceived). At any rate, the only two compounds occurring in three-formative verses are in fact initial:

(41)



aescholt ufan graeg B.330a
1 3 2 2
'ashwood (i.e., spears) from-above gray'



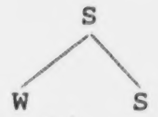
arfaest [aet ecga gelacum] B.1168a
1 3 2 3
'kind at the edge's (i.e., sword's) play'

It is interesting to note that Reed scans the so-called hypermetric lines[17] in five old English poems as SS(W)*(W)*SW (Halle and Keyser notation).[18] Apparently six stresses in the line are permitted only when (1) the 'ghost foot' straddles the half-line (usually also a syntactic) boundary, and (2) the 'ghost foot' contains no alliteration, hence no S position, and therefore cannot be a foot. (I.e., lines like *WSS WSW, containing three otherwise viable feet, do not occur.) These conditions are strongly reminiscent of Schlerman's constraints on the adjacency of pre- and extrametrical syllables in the verse of John Webster: a clause boundary must separate them and they must both be unstressed.[19]

We are still left with a residue of single-formative verses containing non-compounds. In many cases metrists have traditionally assumed a kind of quantity-sensitivity that stresses heavy derivational endings (ing, lic, est, *enne*), and second elements of inflected proper names (*Béowùlfes*, *Hróðgàre*). In a few of these cases -- especially *ing*, occurring in inflected *áeðelìngas*, *gáedelìngas*, and *lic*, in *éadiglìce*, *éarfoðlìce* -- the secondary stress could equally come from beat addition (Selkirk 1984), operating on a stretch of three unstressed syllables. Notice that all single-word half-lines are at least four syllables long; this fact, combined with the initial stress rule, makes beat addition seem quite likely.

Another kind of 'light' verse consists of a series of particles followed by a single non-compound content word. Bliss points out that the average number of syllables before the stress is four (almost twice as many as are ordinarily found before the second stress of two), with a minimum of two and a maximum of six.[20] Although Bliss includes initial verbs in this count, the pattern of extra unstressed syllables in a verse lacking an expected stress is quite clear. It seems that one of the particles may well be promoted by beat addition at least sufficiently that an inverted foot may align with it, for instance:

(42)

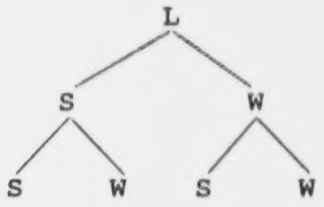


ond ge him syndon B.393a
4 1
'and you to-him are'

Two unstressed syllables is, of course, the minimum domain for beat addition.

In sum, then, our account of Old English meter looks something like this:

I. Abstract Metrical Pattern



Where: Terminal S must alliterate.
W dominated by S may alliterate.
W dominated by W may not alliterate.

II. Correspondence Rules (order of increasing complexity)
   C1. Terminal S maps to the strongest stress in the verse and terminal W maps to the second strongest stress, which lies to the right of S.
   C2. If the second strongest stress lies to the left of the strongest stress, a foot may invert to WS.
      Constraint: the derived terminal string SWWS is disfavored.
      Constraint: two such inversions in one line render it so complex as to be unmetrical.[21]
   C3. If the second strongest stress lies to the left of S and another, lesser-stressed formative lies to the right of S, W may map onto the latter, leaving the second strongest stress unassociated.
   C4. If the second strongest stress lies to the left of the strongest stress and there is no other word stress available to the right, S may map to the weaker and W to the stronger stress.

The complexity hierarchy, when fully formulated, will be based on the following rules:

1. Foot inversions cost less than misalignments.
2. One misalignment costs less than two.
3. Line-medial troughs are strongly disfavored.
4. Lines with an extrametrical stress are always more complex.
5. Extra unstressed syllables may replace a stress line-initially.
6. A line with two inverted feet is unmetrical.

Notice that the resultant partial ordering matches Halle and Keyser's 'actual', as opposed to their 'predicted', complexity hierarchy[22] in a couple of important ways. Halle and Keyser were forced to invent an idiosyncratic rule for the Beowulf poet to account for the fact that three-stress half-lines are less numerous than two-stress half-lines: they had predicted the reverse for a-lines. I, on the other hand, expect three-stress half-lines to be always more complex, since they contain an optional extrametrical element. Further, Halle and Keyser have glossed over the fact that their theory predicts no difference in metrical tension between SW and WS feet. My theory on the other hand predicts the actual frequencies. It is to be hoped that further work on the complexity metric will make the relative markedness of the remaining metrical mappings more explicit: the present discussion is necessarily very superficial.

Having completed our account of the patterning of stressed syllables, it is worthwhile to reconsider some of the older scansions of Beowulf, in which the unstressed syllables as well as the stressed are considered metrically significant. While an in-depth analysis of stressed-unstressed patterning is beyond the scope of this paper, I do want to mention a few interesting problems and coincidences.

5. Stressed and unstressed syllables

The starting-point for any discussion of traditional scansion must be the work of Eduard Sievers, for many of the subsequent accounts are based on Sievers' (1905) scansion. He was the first metrist to propose a more or less successful regularization of the seeming irregularities of Beowulf, using a small set of abstract metrical patterns and a set of correspondence rules. Like most of his successors, Sievers considered the two-stress verse to be basic: he normalized 'heavy' verses by means of stress subordination and 'light' verses by promoting one of the introductory particles.

But Sievers, and the school of scansion he founded, consider the stressed syllable to be only a part of the rhythmical patterning of Beowulf. In Sievers' view, each metrical stress is part of a one-, two-, or three-position foot, with two feet to the verse; moreover, the feet must combine in such a way that the verse contains a total of four metrical positions. The result is the following set of half-line types:

(43)	A	/ x | / x	gómban gýldan
	B	x / | x /	Þaer at hýðe stód
	C	x / | / x	Oft Scýld Scéfing
	D	/ | / \ x	féond máncỳnnes
		/ | / x \	flét ínnanwèard
	E	/ \ x | /	wéorðmỳndum þáh
		/ x \ | /	mórþorbèd stréd

where / is a metrically full-stressed syllable (a lift), \ is a secondary stress (a half-lift), x is a series of one or more unstressed syllables (a fall), and | is the foot boundary. Notice that there is no falling-rising verse, / x | x /, since x x in succession is equivalent to x; such a verse would be short one metrical position. The fact that the stressed-syllable template discussed in section 4 also disfavors medial troughs (SWWS) is interesting in this regard. Perhaps Old English had a pervasive constraint against that particular configuration.

Although there are a number of difficulties with Sievers' correspondence rules (see especially Keyser (1969)), the Five Types are in the main quite an accurate description of the rhythms found in Beowulf. The central problem is to find a rationale for the occurrence of these five patterns, and (almost) exclusively these five patterns, in the poem.

Daunt (1946) endorses the null hypothesis with respect to Sievers' Types, as do all of the generative theorists, at least implicitly. The patterns, says Daunt, are syntactic and phonological, but not metrical.

> A may be A because it is the most frequent, but it is the most frequent because it is the shape of nouns and adjectives grouped together, and nouns and adjectives appear most frequently in the spoken language....The pattern / x / x (or / xx / x, etc.) is likely to appear in a language with [initial] root accent and a large number of disyllabic forms in noun and adjective.
> (Daunt 1946:291-2)

In her sample of 200 half-lines, B-lines tended heavily to end in preterite singulars of strong verbs; C-lines are largely preposition-NP combinations or whole or part sentences and clauses; and the three-position feet of D and E verses are nearly always trisyllabic (especially compound) nouns or adjectives. Daunt demonstrates that even Modern English prose passages can be scanned via the Five Types.

Against Daunt's claim must be placed Cable's (1974) observation concerning patterns which seem to be specifically excluded from Beowulf. One example is

```
(44)   x  x  / x   / x
       in a somer seson
```

(Cable's x is a single unstressed syllable); this pattern is common in Middle English and even in Old English is perhaps the 'syntactically most probable' pattern, but it is almost unknown in Beowulf (Cable 1974:8-9). Cable also remarks the non-occurrence of x x / /, as in

(45) x x / /
* þaet waes god þegn

x x / \
* þaet waes Beowulf

by the side of the perfectly regular

(46) x x / / x
þaet waes god cyning

x x / \ x
þaet waes Beowulfes[23]

Apparently we need something a little stronger than the null hypothesis.

Bliss (1962), after devoting one hundred pages to a multiplication of five types to 130 types, proposes, as an afterthought, a sort of algorithm for deriving the five original types from one basic pattern. 'There can be no doubt,' he says,

> that the norm in Old English verse is the rhythm / x (x) / x, which underlies nearly 40 per cent of the verses in Beowulf. If now, abandoning the chronometric theory, we assume that the stresses in the verse may be displaced forwards or backwards in time, the following rhythms may result: if the first stress is displaced forwards the result is x (x) / / x, Type C; if the second stress is displaced forwards the result is / x x (x) /, Type E; if both stresses are displaced forward, the result is x (x) / x /, Type B; if the second stress is displaced backwards the result is / (x) / x x, Type D. These are the only possible displacements, and the displacement theory thus explains the five types which actually occur and no others. (Bliss 1962:108).

Unfortunately this 'explanation' gives no account of how or why a stress should be 'displaced'; nor does Bliss' notation make explicit the fact that, of two adjacent x's, one must be a secondary stress if the sequence is to be metrical. On the other hand, Bliss' account does exclude the non-occurring x x / /, since he does not allow the same stress to be displaced twice.

Cable's (1974) account of the Five Types not only avoids the problems of Bliss' account, but also lends support to Maling's assumption of compound stress on the half-line. Cable argues for compound stress on the following grounds, none of them conclusive on its own, but collectively and with Maling, quite compelling (Cable 1974:67-73).

(a) All verses with clashing stress (i.e. C and D verses) which have single rather than double alliteration alliterate on the first stress. Cable, like Maling, considers that alliteration prefers the strongest stress.

(b) Compounds regularly occur as C and D verses, and we have independent reason to believe that the first stress of a compound is the stronger.

(c) Of 1118 C verses, 504 have a short (i.e. light) unresolved[24] syllable for the second lift. As for D verses, both lifts are usually long but if one is short and unresolved it is always the second. 'Resolution' aside, Cable is assuming that light stressed syllables are perceived as less stressed than heavy syllables and so are more natural in second position.

(d) If Pope (1942) is right and there is a constraint towards isochrony on the verse, the first stressed syllable of a D-line must be drawled out to take up the same amount of time as the following three syllables. The extra length would correlate with heavy stress.

Cable goes on to say,

> ...either the rule for nuclear stress is an innovation, a rule added to the language since Beowulf, or else the metrical patterns of Old English often contradict the patterns of ordinary speech. If the second alternative is the case, then Sievers' traditional division of the verse into feet is called into question [since stress is not compared across foot boundaries -- AKH]....If the first alternative is the case, then Sievers' system can stand as it is, but we must radically revise our view of the history of English stress....Of the two possibilities, a reconsideration of Sievers' feet would be the less ambitious and more promising effort... (Cable 1974:72)

Arguments (c) and (d) above reflect Cable's assumption that compound stress is a metrical rather than a phonological phenomenon. We have adopted Maling's view that in fact the nuclear stress rule is an innovation. Cable's discussion fortunately does not depend on this point.

Having one way or another established a constraint that the first of two clashing stresses be the stronger, Cable is in a position to derive the Five Types. Assuming four metrical positions, between each two of which the level of stress must rise or fall, there are eight possible patterns:

(47)	1 \ 2 / 3 \ 4	A
	1 / 2 \ 3 / 4	B
	1 / 2 \ 3 \ 4	C
	1 \ 2 \ 3 \ 4	D
	1 \ 2 \ 3 / 4	E
	1 / 2 / 3 \ 4	*
	1 / 2 / 3 / 4	*
	1 \ 2 / 3 / 4	*

The last three patterns are ruled out by the clashing stress constraint; the first five are the Five Types.[25]

This account has the merit of accounting naturally for the distribution of secondary stress. It also explains the absence of x x / /, since, as Cable's diagram makes clear, a syllable is not perceived as a lift unless it is more strongly stressed than at least one adjacent syllable.

If we assume, with Maling, that the compound stress rule was general in Old English for prose as well as poetry, then we no longer need Cable's clashing stress constraint: the constraint is not a metrical convention but simply part of the stress-assignment to phrases. What differentiates Cable's proposal from the null hypothesis is not this constraint but rather his observation that a lexical stress which is not heavier than one adjacent syllable is not a metrical stress. This makes sense in terms of our mapping of templates to lines: a terminal S or W will not map to a syllable that is not in some sense a stress peak.

While there is clearly a great deal more to say before the meter of Beowulf is fully explicated, I believe the analysis proposed in this paper comes closer to an explanatorily adequate account than any theory proposed to date. A complete scansion of Beowulf in terms of my branching template will clearly be necessary before all the details can be worked out, but the outline should be much like that set forth above. At the very least, this solution should contribute to the formulation of a better one.

NOTES

1. Half-line boundaries are marked in the manuscript by a point, in modern texts by a space.

2. 1164b is one of a group of so-called hypermetric verses, 1163-1168, 1705-1707, and 2995-2996, also 2173a, 2297a, which are atypical in being so very long. The maximum number of syllables in a normal verse is probably closer to five.

3. O'Neil, Wayne, personal communication to S.J. Keyser, quoted in Keyser (1969), 'Old English Prosody' (College English 30(5).333).

4. B.2488a is the only half-line in the poem with no unstressed syllables at all; B.386b has only three syllables, the normal minimum being four; and B.376 is overly long, having three word stresses in each half-line.

5. The notion of a "light" verse, proposed by A.J. Bliss in 1962, is essentially an attempt to make one of the supports optional (though not extrametrical).

6. I am indebted to Emmon Bach for the second scansion of this particular rhyme, although I had noticed the same phenomenon in one of Halle and Keyser's other examples.

7. Silent beats, like optional metrical elements, have long since been proposed for Old English meter. John C. Pope in 1942 suggested an isochronous scansion of Beowulf involving an optional initial rest, supposedly filled by a beat of the harp. This hypothesis, unfortunately, seems impossible to prove.

8. I did attempt to use binary trees, with labelling based on Maling's account of phrase stress, to see if I

could find a way to make terminal S, W (in Halle and Keyser's sense) fall out from the particular branching or other structural factors. I was unsuccessful: among other problems, such trees cannot handle identical syntactic structures with differing alliteration patterns, in particular double versus single alliteration; moreover, even if one W in the single-alliteration case is held to be a position of optional alliteration, there are examples of three-stress verses which show that either of two Ws (structurally differentiated) can alliterate in the right circumstances. Yet a third difficulty is the ambiguity involved in imposing binary structure on a three-stress phrase with no internal bracketing: such ambiguity is not reflected in the alliterative patterns.

9. Halle and Keyser's figure for double alliteration is 52%; I have not yet located the source of the discrepancy.

10. Note that the latter is a problem for Halle and Keyser, though not for Maling.

11. Traditional metrists -- see especially Bliss (1962) and Kendall (1983) -- usually consider the verb to be a particle, without metrically significant stress. Its normal position, they claim, is among the other unstressed particles at the beginning of the (half-) line, and it only acquires a metrical stress if it is displaced to some other position. Unfortunately for this claim, verbs in initial position often alliterate with a following NP. Bliss goes so far as to consider all such alliteration 'accidental', but as Cable (1974) points out, the phenomenon is much too frequent to be unintentional. Moreover, initial verbs occasionally bear the sole alliteration for the verse, so that even Bliss must admit certain exceptions.

12. I originally thought that the second half-line should be the strong one, since its alliteration almost always falls on the same syllable, while the a-line's alliteration varies between the first and second stress. One way of looking at this difference is to assume that the b-line is independent (strong) in terms of alliteration: the onsets of the stressed syllables in the b-line are arbitrary, while the onset of at least one stress in the "weak" or a-line is externally determined (by the head stave). Unfortunately the internal structure of the a-line presented such difficulties that I was forced to abandon this notion.

13. See Kiparsky (1975), (1977).

14. For instance, in Siever's terms, the verses in (37a) are both A-lines, those in (37b) are C-lines, and those in (37c) are D-lines.

15. Reed, Ann, *Applications of an Alliterative Theory of Meter* (unpublished manuscript, 1970), p. 9.

16. Reed, Ann, *Prosodic Theory and the Formula* (unpublished manuscript).

17. Those with at least five and possibly six stresses in the line.

18. Reed, *Applications*, p. 16.

19. Schlerman, Betty, personal communication.

20. Bliss, A.J., *The Metre of Beowulf* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962), pp. 61-68.

21. Ann Reed has kindly allowed me access to her scansion of *Beowulf*, on which Halle and Keyser's theory is based. The three lines she scans WSWS are nothing of the sort:

B.853 þanon eft gewiton ealdgesiðas
B.2418 þenden haelo abead heorðgeneatum
B.2870 ower feor oððe neah findan meahte

are SWS, SWSW, and SWS, respectively, even by Halle and Keyser's scansions. I of course scan them all as SWSW.

22. Halle, Morris and Samuel J. Keyser, *English Stress: Its Form, Its Growth, and Its Role in Verse* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), pp. 157-159.

23. Cable, Thomas, *The Meter and Melody of Beowulf*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 29.

24. A 'resolved' stress is a light stressed syllable plus the following unstressed syllable acting together as one lift.

25. Cable, p. 88.

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The Class of Indefinites in Vietnamese

Laura A. Michaelis

Introduction

Vietnamese has a repository of semantically amorphous indefinite words and phrases whose meanings appear to be refined according to the particular syntactic or pragmatic context in which they are embedded. In the appropriate environments, they are the functional equivalents of the English series represented by *who*, *someone*, *anyone*, and *whoever/everyone*, respectively. As an example, one might consider the meaning-shifts undergone by the word **ai**, often glossed as "who", when it appears in a content question (1), before a demonstrative (2), in the "polarity contexts" represented by negative sentences and by yes-no questions (3a-b), and in the syntactic construction which I will quaintly dub the "Nomatterative" (4):

(1) Cô đã thấy ai?
You past see indef-person
"Who did you see?"

(2) Cổ nói với ai đó.
She speak with indef-person that
"She spoke with someone."

(3) a. Cổ không thích ai.
She not like indef-person
"She doesn't like anyone."

b. Cô đã thấy ai, không?
You past see indef-person, no
"Did you see anyone?"

(4) Cổ đi đâu, ảnh cũng muốn đi theo.
She go indef-place, he [cũng] want go follow.
"Wherever she goes, he wants to follow."

It is my purpose here to investigate the behavior of **ai** and other indefinites in the contexts represented by (1)-(4) above. In presenting this investigation, I hope to demonstrate that these words and phrases will resist any attempt to relegate them to the syntactic category of "question

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word" or "polarity item" and that instead one might more profitably regard them as a syntactically underspecified lexical class whose sole common semantic specification seems to be that of being unconnected to any identifiable referent.

I will argue that there are four basic contexts which welcome most or all of these indefinites and which refine or elaborate their somewhat vague semantics. The first two such contexts exemplified must, it seems, be defined functionally: content questions serve as means by which to request identification of a referent, and indefinites a method of establishing an unidentified referent in discourse. The third context, a very broad one, must be defined rather vaguely as "irrealis," (a term intended to subsume traditionally recognized "polarity contexts" as well as environments created by both desideratives and root and epistemic modals). The fourth context might be viewed as the semantic structure associated with a type of conditional construction--a context which often seems closely related to the irrealis.

I hope to show that these contexts are invoked by both syntactic and pragmatic means; one cannot always determine the interpretation of an indefinite on the basis of its syntactic environment alone. Content questions, for example, are not consistently marked as such syntactically; "question words" occur predominantly *in situ* and such clause-final question particles as **đó** and **vậy** appear to be optional. Additionally, it appears that the indefinite reading exemplified in (2) (which I will refer to as the unidentified-constant reading, in order to avoid confusion with the term used to denote the generalized semantics of the class) need not always be signalled by the presence of a demonstrative following the indefinite word or phrase. (The conditions under which the demonstrative *does* serve to provide the reading of (2) will be discussed below.) This frequent lack of syntactic cues often creates ambiguity as to whether a clause containing an indefinite expression is to be interpreted as a content question or as a declarative containing an indefinite:

(5) Ông ấy có mấy quyển sách học tiếng Việt-Nam? (Hoa 1966:34)
He that have unspecified-number clf. books learn language Vietnamese
"How many Vietnamese books does he have?"
"He has some number of Vietnamese books."

It appears that, in addition to intonation, some feature of the conversational context, or of conversational interaction in general, must disambiguate such sentences as (5). The question reading certainly appears to be the pragmatic default; sentences containing unspecified or unidentifiable referents seem in general to be far less useful conversational contributions than content questions (and indeed it has proven quite difficult to devise a context in which an informant will produce an utterance of the former type). Thus, it is perhaps the case that the ambiguity of (5) is not ordinarily apparent. It does not then appear that syntactic ambiguity necessarily creates decoding difficulties; the four contexts exemplified above are delineated by both pragmatic and syntactic means.

With this in mind, we might now proceed to examine each of the four contexts shown in (1)-(4), and the particular interpretation imposed by these contexts upon the indefinite word or phrase. One important aspect of this interpretation, which will be highlighted in the ensuing discussion, is that of whether the indefinite item is to be interpreted in a given context as a linguistic variable (an expression which may be connected to a succession of values or referents) or as a constant (an expression connected to a single entity which is unidentified within the discourse context). I hope to demonstrate that it is only in the context exemplified in sentence (2) that the indefinite item receives the latter interpretation, and, further, that this interpretation is induced by the "anchoring" function provided by the demonstrative modifier. Additionally, I hope to demonstrate that within those contexts inducing the variable-reading of indefinites, pragmatic factors often determine whether or not that variable must have a unique solution. Let us now, however, explore the behavior of indefinites within the domain exemplified in sentence (1): content questions.

Content Questions

Before proceeding to a discussion of the use of indefinites as question words, I should mention that here are some phrases that appear unique to this syntactic domain: the manner/instrument adjunct **làm sao** and the reason adjunct **tại sao**, as well as the ambiguous **sao**, do not seem to have uses in the other domains mentioned (although reason and instrument adjuncts do appear--in other forms--elsewhere). Further, phrases involving the degree marker **bao** (e.g., **bao nhiêu**, "how much, many") appear to be limited to this domain and that of the Nomatterative. As I am concerned primarily with the larger class of indefinites, I will focus my investigation upon those "question words" which appear in all or most of the domains exemplified in (1)-(4); **bao**-phrases and **sao**-phrases will, however, merit some discussion here.

As mentioned earlier, indefinites used as question words occur predominantly *in situ*. Hence, questioned subjects and direct objects fit the SVO pattern instantiated by declarative sentences, as shown in sentences (6) and (7), respectively:

(6) a. Anh đó ở đây.
He that is-located here.
"He is here."
b. Ai ở đây?
Indef-person is-located here
"Who is here?"
(7) a. Cô đó đã thấy anh kia.
She that past see him yonder.
"She saw him."
b. Cô đó đã thấy người nào?
She that past see person indef-mod
"Who did she see?"

Among adjuncts having predicate scope, questioned place adjuncts (both locative (8) and directional (9b)) and time adjuncts (10b) (including durational modifiers (11b)) also occupy the postverbal position ordinarily reserved for such adjuncts in declarative sentences (cf. (6a), (9a), (10a), and (11a), respectively):

(8) Anh đó làm ở đâu?
He that work is-located indef-place
"Where does he work?"
(9) a. Cô đó chạy về nhà.
She that run arrive home.
"She ran home."
b. Cô đó đi đâu?
She that go where?
"Where did she go?"
(10) a. Xe lửa đã đến lúc trưa.
Train past arrive moment noon
"The train arrived at noon."
b. Cổ đã đi hồi nào vậy?
She past go moment which qst-prt.
"When did she leave?"

(11) a. Anh đó đã chạy được mười phút.
He that past run for ten minute
"He ran for ten minutes."
b. Anh đó đã chạy được bao lâu?
He that past run for how long?
"For how long did he run?"

There are, however, several exceptions to the principle that question words appear in place, all of which involve adjuncts rather than complements. The first of these involves questioned time-adjuncts of the sort shown in (10b). It seems that when the verb refers to some future action, whether or not futurity is indicated by the auxiliary **sẽ**, the temporal adjunct appears in clause-initial position. The following examples are taken from Hoa (1966: 47):

(12) a. Cô ấy đi Mỹ bao giờ?
She that go America how-many hour?
"When did she leave for America?"
b. Bao giờ cô ấy đi Mỹ?
How-many hour she that go America?
"When will she leave for America?"

It does not appear, however, that this phenomenon in unique to the domain of content questions: the respective replies to (12a-b) given by Hoa (1966: loc. cit.) appear to instantiate the same principle of adjunct placement:

(13) a. Cô ấy đi hôm qua.
She that leave yesterday
"She left yesterday."
b. Cuối tháng này cô ấy đi Mỹ.
End month this she that go America
"She will leave for America at the end of this month."

Another instance in which question words do not appear *in situ* involves the questioned reason and manner/instrument adjuncts discussed above. Although, as shown by (14a) and (15a), both clausal reason-adjuncts introduced by the conjunction vì ("because") and instrumental adjuncts introduced by the preposition **bằng** ("by means of") occur in clause-final position in declaratives, both **tại sao** ("why") and **làm sao** ("how") occur in clause-initial position, as shown in (14b) and (15b):

(14) a. Ông ấy buồn vì bà ấy ốm luôn. (Hoa 1966:123)
He that is-sad because she this is-sick frequently
"He is sad because she is often sick."
b. Tại sao anh ở dây?
Why you be-located here
"Why are you here?"
(15) a. Tôi muốn trã bằng credit card.
I want pay by-means-of credit card
"I want to pay with a credit card."
b. Làm sao họ nổ máy xe này?
How one explode engine car this?
"How do you start the engine?"

A third instance in which questioned items do not appear *in situ* involves that durational modifier which accompanies achievement and accomplishment predicates. It seems that durational phrases headed by **trong** ("in") may optionally occur in clause-initial position when questioned (16b), while those occuring in declarative sentences appear limited to postverbal position (16a):

(16) a. Ảnh ngủ trong một phút.
He fall-asleep in one minute.
"He fell asleep in a minute."
b. Trong mấy tiếng cô mới sửa được cái này?
In indef-number hours you recent fix be-okay thing this
"How many hours did it take you to fix this?"

It seems that only the **trong**-headed duration adjunct can appear in clause-initial position; durational adjuncts accompanying state and activity predicates cannot apparently be preposed. Hence, adjuncts headed by **được**, exemplified in (11b), are not acceptable clause initially.

The optional preposing of the durational modifier exemplified in (16b) seems the most puzzling of the three exceptions discussed. One might argue that the preposing of time adjuncts exemplified in (12b) and (13b) has informational value; it serves to distinguish past and future in a language in which tense is typically unmarked. Perhaps one might also argue that the clause-initial position of the reason and manner/instrument adjuncts, as shown in (14b) and (15b), reflects their sentential scope (although it is difficult to understand why a manner or instrumental adjunct should have such scope). The optional preposing of **trong**-headed durationals (16b), however, appears to be a purely stylistic device. At any rate, this discussion of displaced question words has taken us somewhat far afield of our goal--to examine the behavior of indefinites in each of the four syntactic domains exemplified in (1)-(4). Let us now then examine the behavior of two indefinites, **gì**, commonly glossed as "what", and **nào**, commonly glossed as "which", within the content-question domain.

As shown in (17a-c), both of these indefinites serve as nominal modifiers, creating question phrases:

(17) a. Ông nào cao vậy?
Man indef-mod is-tall qst-prt
"Which man is tall?"
b. Bàn nào nặng nhất?
Table indef-mod is-heavy most
"Which table is heaviest?"
c. Caí gì mà làm ra tiếng đó vậy?
Thing indef-mod which do be-out noise that qst-prt?
"What is it that's making that noise?"
d. *Ông gì cao vậy?
man indef-mod tall qst-prt
"Which man is tall?"

While **nào** seems to modify both animates and inanimates (17a-b), **gì** apparently modifies only inanimates (17c-d). It also seems that while **gì** can function alone as an indefinite argument, **nào** cannot. It appears that **nào**, as a modifier, is prohibited from occupying an argument place. This is most clearly shown by questions of the type exemplified in (18a-b):

(18) a. Giửa hai ghế, cô ưa *(ghế) nào hơn?
Between two chair, you like chair indef-mod more
"Of the two chairs, which do you prefer?"
b. Trong hai ông, *(ông) nào cao hơn?
In two man, man indef-mod is-tall more?
"Of the two men, which is taller?"

In questions of the sort shown in (18), a set is named in the subordinate clause, and in the interrogative main clause, the addressee is asked to select a particular member of that set. The question word in the main clause is most commonly **nào**, which, as shown in (18), must appear with a pleonastic head nominal denoting the set of items in question. (English, as one might note in the translation of (18a), lacks this constraint.) Hence it seems that **nào**, unlike **gì**, is a modifer alone, and as such cannot occupy an argument position.

However, as mentioned, the indefinite **gì** can either serve as a modifier of subject and object arguments ((17c), (19a)), or it can appear alone as an indefinite argument, as in (19b),(d):

(19) a. Cô quên chữ gì?
You forget word indef-mod
"What word did you forget?"

b. Cô càn gì hôm nay?
You need indef-thing today?
"What do you need today?"

c. *(Chuyện) gì xảy ra?
Event indef-mod happen be-out?
"What happened?"

d. Có gì xảy ra vậy?
Exist indef-thing happen be-out qst-prt
"What happened?"

The use of **gì** as an indefinite argument appears to be constrained syntactically. Although in object position **gì** seems free to serve as either modifier (19a) or argument (19b); in subject position it can apparently function only as a modifier, as demonstrated by (19c). One may note that the use of the existential construction (19d), which requires a clause-initial **có** (lit. "has"), effectively "bumps" the substantively used **gì** from subject position, allowing it to serve as an argument of the serial verb **xảy ra** ("happen") without violating the subjecthood constraint observed in (19c).

Having looked at the behavior of a number of indefinites with respect to content questions, we might now consider what sort of semantic specifications are imposed by this context upon indefinites embedded within it. As mentioned, it seems that indefinite words and phrases within content questions must be interpreted as variables. Hence, a question like

(1) may be interpreted as a request of the addressee that he enumerate all members of the set of people whom he has seen; the indefinite **ai** ranges over all members of this set. Of course, variables can have unique solutions, and some contexts may require them. Thus, for example, while the indefinite **ai** in (1) can be interpreted as a variable whose solution is a set of individuals, indefinites appearing in questions involving superlatives, like (17b), must ordinarily be solved for one entity only. The questioned temporal adjunct **bao giờ** ("how many") in (12a) must also have a unique solution. This indefinite cannot be linked to a set of several departure times, since, as we know, a single trip entails no more than one departure from a given location. Such extralinguistic information is, of course, not part of the semantic specification imposed upon indefinites by the content-question context.

The content-question context, as mentioned earlier, appears to be invoked by pragmatic as well as syntactic means. It was shown above that as question words are ordinarily *in situ*, and as the clause-final content-question particles **vậy** and **đó** are apparently optional, there is the potential for such ambiguity as that shown in sentence (5). In addition to ambiguities of this sort, there may also be ambiguities of the sort exemplified by sentence (20) below, in which the irrealis and content-question contexts seem to conflate syntactically:

(20) Anh đó muốn xe nào rẻ.
He that want car indef-mod be-inexpensive
"He wants an inexpensive car."
"What inexpensive car does he want?"

In (20), the presence of the indefinite modifier **nào** can be attributed either to the irrealis context created by the desiderative verb **muốn** ("want") or to the content-question context. Again, some feature of the discourse context must allow the hearer to disambiguate those sentences which, like (20), are syntactically ambiguous.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the interpretation of indefinites in irrealis contexts, we might examine the one context in which indefinite words and phrases are interpreted as constants--unidentified but "anchored" entities.

Unidentified Constants

As mentioned earlier, many of the phrases appearing in this context can readily be glossed by words and phrases in the English "*some*-series." The difficulty here is that the claimed syntactic reflex of this context, which seems to consist of a demonstrative following the indefinite in question, does not appear to be present wherever this reading is invoked. One such example is given in (5), wherein the constant-reading of **mấy** ("several") is invoked without any assistance from a demonstrative modifier. Certainly such facts serve to underscore the point that the particular interpretations imposed upon indefinites in Vietnamese are pragmatically conditioned to a great degree, and yet it also appears to be the case that demonstrative modification *is* a fairly predictable concomitant of the constant-reading among particular word-classes. The indefinite nominals **gì** and **ai**, the indefinite locative **đâu**, and any nominal modified by the indefinite modifier **nào**--including those coding reason, time, and instrument adjuncts--appear to require demonstrative modification in order to be interpreted as unidentified constants.

I would like somehow to unify this use of the demonstrative with that distinguishing second persons from third, exemplified in (21):

(21) a. Anh muốn đi, không?
Male-agemate want go, no?
"Do you want to go?"
b. Anh đó muốn đi, khong?
Male-agemate that want go, no?
"Does he want to go?"

As shown in (21), the noun **anh** (lit. "older brother") receives a third-person interpretation when modified by a demonstrative, and a second-person interpretation when not so modified. I will attempt to explain this use of the demonstrative, as well as that which "anchors" indefinites, by appeal to Langacker's (1987) notion of an "objectively construed scene." First, however, we might examine some examples of "anchored" indefinites. Sentences (2) and (22)-(25) exemplify the use of the demonstrative to induce the "unidentified constant" interpretation of the indefinites **gì**, **đâu**, **ai**, and **nào**, respectively:

(22) a. Cổ nói caí gì đó, mà tôi không hiểu gì hết.
She said indef-thing that, but I not under indef-thing

complete
"She said something, but I didn't understand anything at all."

b. Tôi đã nghe cổ nói caí gì đó.
I past hear she say clf. indef-thing that
"I heard her say something."

(23) Anh đó đang trốn đâu đẩy.
He that present hide indef-place that
"He is hiding somewhere."

(24) Cổ nói với ai đó, mà tôi không biết là ai.
She talk with indef-person but I not know be who
"She's talking with someone, but I don't know who."

(25) a. Một người nào đó đã nhìn thẩy anh đó ra đi.
One person indef-mod that pask look see he that be-out go
"Someone saw him leaving."

b. Anh đó bỏ đi lúc nào đó.
He that leave go moment indef-mod that
"He left at some point."

c. Anh đó bỏ đi vì lý-do nào đó.
He that leave go because reason indef-mod that
"He left for some reason."

d. Anh đó sủa xe bắng một cách nào đó.
He that fix car by-means-of one method indef-mod that
"He fixed the car somehow."

The four sentences in (25) exemplify the use of **nào** to modify nominals serving as a subject argument, time adjunct, reason adjunct, and instrumental adjunct, respectively. Each of the indefinite words and phrases in (2) and (22)-(25) appears to be interpreted as being linked to a unique referent, which the speaker either cannot identify or chooses not to identify.

What is of particular importance for our purposes is the fact that the indefinite modified by a demonstrative must be linked to a unique referent; in this syntactic environment it is not a variable but a constant. I would like to argue that it is the "anchoring" function of the demonstrative modifier that induces this interpretation of the indefinite. If one can refer to a shared "discourse space," in which interlocutors can establish elements, one might be able to argue that demonstratives "anchor" or uniquely identify indefinites by somehow pointing them out in that discourse space. This notion of discourse space is rather similar to that of the "objective scene" discussed by Langacker (1987:139-140). Langacker characterizes an "optimal viewing arrangement," in which the conceptualizer and object of conceptualization are maximally distinct, with the object of conceptualization being located within a "locus of viewing attention" which does not include the conceptualizer or "the area...contiguous to him." The objective scene is this locus of viewing attention. Typically, it seems, any addressee of the conceptualizer is excluded from the objective scene.

Although the interlocutors are ordinarily not included within the "onstage region" defined by the objective scene, Langacker argues that they may serve as "offstage reference points" for deictic modifiers. These modifiers use the relative positions of the interlocutors in the "offstage region" as a frame of reference for pointing out entities within the "onstage region" or discourse space. I would like to claim that because demonstratives function to locate items with respect to the interlocutors, those in (2) and (22)-(25) are construed as establishing their indefinite heads as particular observable entities within the objective scene. Thus, when modified by a demonstrative, the indefinite, which would otherwise be construed as a variable, is assigned a unique, although unidentified, referent within the objective scene.

As mentioned above, it seems that this approach might also provide a reasonable account of the fact that, as shown in (21), the demonstrative induces a third-person reading of a nominal that would otherwise have a second-person reading. If the objective scene does not include its viewers, the interlocutors, then the addressee is not "set up" within that scene by means of a deictic. Thus, the unmodified **anh** in (21a) has a second-person interpretation. Any party who is not among the interlocutors can, however, be included within the objective scene, and his location there might be said to be signalled by the demonstrative.

This account is, of course, somewhat sketchy and tentative. It does, however, illustrate that the "anchored" interpretation of the indefinites **nào**, **đâu**, **gì**, and **ai** can be motivated according to the semantics imposed by the modifying demonstrative. Of course, as mentioned earlier, such sentences as (5) demonstrate that this interpretation is available where no demonstrative-modification occur. It does seem, however, that where such modification is possible (viz., among the indefinites mentioned), it is necessary for this reading. Such sentences as (5), I think, merely serve to underscore the point that where syntactic cues are missing or unreliable, pragmatic information must enable one to discern the indefinite's particular interpretation. One cannot overestimate the importance of extralinguistic information in the interpretation of Vietnamse indefinites; it seems that only the Nomatterative construction provides a completely reliable syntactic context for the interpretation of indefinites. Before examining that context, we might look at that which I have vaguely termed the "irrealis."

The Irrealis Context

The term "irrealis" is intended to subsume a number of different semantic environments which welcome indefinites, some of which are associated with syntactic constructions, and others of which belong to the frames associated with certain lexical items. Several of these environments are traditionally recognized "polarity contexts": negated clauses, yes-no questions, protases of conditionals, and comparatives. Examples of the negative and yes-no question contexts can be found in (3), examples of the latter two are given in (26)-(27):

(26) a. Nếu có ai tới thì kêu tôi.
If exist indef-person come then call me
"If anyone comes, then call me."
b. Anh cần gì thì cử hỏi.
You need indef-thing then keep ask
"If you need anything, just ask."
(27) Ảnh cao hơn ai hết.
He is-tall more indef-person complete
"He is taller than anyone at all."

Sentence (26b) is intended to demonstrate that a protasis need not be introduced by the subordinator **nếu** ("if"), as in (26a); instead, it seems that the presence of the indefinite itself, coupled with the following resultative clause introduced by **thì** ("then") can serve to signal the antecedent-status of the initial clause. Sentence (27) demonstrates that the Vietnamese comparative construction apparently requires no comparative conjunction, but only a scalar verb followed by the comparative particle **hơn** and a following nominal. Sentence (27) also illustrates the use of the completive verb **hết** to express a meaning akin to the English *at all.* This word appears, like *at all*, to be limited to irrealis contexts. (Another such word in Vietnamese, the modifier **bất-cứ** ("any" or "random") will be investigated below.)

What, however, makes such contexts as negative sentences, protases, and comparatives "irrealis"? We might define an irrealis context in the following manner: a semantic context in which a particular state of affairs is schematized as either in doubt, nonexistent, or not yet obtaining. Negative sentences fit this definition, as illustrated by sentence (3a): the negative **không** denies the state of affairs expressed by the predicate **thích** ("like"). Yes-no questions seem to fit the definition as well; sentences like (3b) presuppose uncertainty on the part of the speaker as to the presence of some event or state. Protases of conditionals too can be seen to adhere to the irrealis model. Conditionals code a causal relationship between one state and another--a relationship which does not entail that the causal state of affairs obtains, but merely that, should it, the caused state will also obtain. (Of course, the presence of this causal relationship does not entail that the state of affairs coded by the consequent obtain either; nevertheless, consequents in Vietnamese, as in English, do not appear to be irrealis contexts, as they do not welcome indefinites. This puzzle will not be tackled here.) Lastly, comparatives can also be seen as irrealis contexts: such assertions as (27) do not compare two particular tokens (e.g., of height values, as in (27)), but assert than *any* such comparisons will yield the same result, should they be performed.

As mentioned earlier, indefinites within the irrealis contexts are interpreted as variables. This fact can, I think, be explained in the following (somewhat vague) manner: as the schemata invoked by these contexts essentially withold or forgo realization of any state of affairs, there remains the potential for myriad possibilities of realization. This explanation seems slightly fuzzy, but I think it is intuitive. Perhaps a couple of examples will suffice. Such sentences as (27) assert that a particular individual is taller than any individual with whom he might be compared; thus this assertion subsumes any individual acts of comparison with person 1, person 2, and so on. The indefinite **ai**, therefore, must range over all such targets of comparison. Similarly, such yes-no questions as (3b) seek only to know whether or not some persons were sighted by a particular perceiver; satisfaction of this request includes any "sighting possibility"--no persons, one, two, and so on. Again, **ai** must range over all of these possibilities. Hence, irrealis contexts require that indefinites be interpreted as variables.

As mentioned earlier, I would like to claim that, in addition to the traditionally recognized polarity environments, there are other contexts in Vietnamese which can be characterized as irrealis. These include the contexts invoked by desiderative verbs and auxiliaries coding both potential and habitual modality. Examples are given in (28)-(30). Note in (28) the comparison of desiderative and nondesiderative (realis) verbs:

(28) a. Cổ mong/mơ/ có việc nào tốt hơn.
She hope/dream/ have job indef-mod be-good more
"She hopes (dreams) that she'll have a better job."
b. Cổ có việc tốt hơn.
She have job be-good more
"She has a better job."
c. Tôi muốn xe nào không đắc lắm.
I want car indef-mod not be-expensive very
"I want an inexpensive car."
d. Tôi mua một chiếc xe không đắc lắm.
I buy one clf. car not be-expensive very
"I bought an inexpensive car."
(29) a. Cổ có-thể đọc bất-cứ sách nào cổ tìm ra.
She can read random book indef-mod she find be-out
"She can read any book she finds."
b. Bất-cứ chuyện gì có-thể xảy ra ở dây.
Random event indef-thing can happen be-out here
"Anything can happen here."
(30) a. Cổ thường nói bất-cứ những gì khi cổ say.
She be-usual say random plural indef-thing when she is-drunk
"She'll say anything when she's drunk."
b. Ảnh thường làm bất-cứ những gì để thành-công.
He be-usual do random plural indef-thing purpose succeed
"He does anything to get ahead."

Comparison of (28a-b) and (28c-d) demonstrates that the indefinite modifier **nào** appears only in the irrealis environment created by the desiderative verbs **mong** ("hope for"), **mơ** ("dream of"), and **muốn** ("want"); such realis verbs as **có** ("have") do not allow indefinite objects. Sentences (29a-b) demonstrate that the modal auxiliary **có-thể** ("can") creates an environment welcoming indefinites. One might also note that both root (29a) and epistemic (29b) uses of this auxiliary create the requisite environment. As shown in (30), the auxiliary verb **thường** ("be usual"), which codes habitual activity, also welcomes indefinites.

As stated earlier, I wish to claim that each of these three types of verbs invokes an irrealis context. How do these verb classes adhere to the irrealis model discussed above? Desiderative verbs are a fairly clear instance of this model: they express a desire for some state of affairs to come about but presuppose that such has not yet occurred. Potential verbs too fit the model quite well: they express the ability of some entity to accomplish some goal or the possibility that some event will occur, but presuppose that neither the event nor the goal currently obtains. Habitual verbs like **thường** ("be usual") are more difficult to reconcile with the irrealis model, as they seem to express not the lack of realization of some event but rather its repetition. Such verbs, however, may be regarded instead as expressing a tendency of some individual or entity toward some state or action, and, as such, coding a potentiality akin to that expressed by both epistemic modals and (root) modals coding ability. Habitual verbs express both an assertion about the current state of affairs and a prediction that this same state of affairs will obtain in the future. It is this latter characteristic that I think lends them their irrealis character.

As mentioned, the modifier **bất-cứ** ("any" or "random" lit. "no basis") appears to be a denizen of the potential (29) and habitual (30) irrealis contexts. A possible problem for this analysis of that modifier are sentences of the following sort, in which no apparent irrealis context is invoked, and **bất-cứ** does not modify an indefinite:

(31) Họ hỏi bất-cứ những người đang có mặt.
They question random plural person present have face
"They questioned everyone present."

In the preponderance of data, however, **bất-cứ**, like English *any*, does appear to be a "polarity item," and I will hence continue to regard it as such. Although, as will be shown below, this modifier also appears occasionally in Nomatterative sentences, such data do not appear to undermine its irrealis character; a suggestion will be made below that Nomatteratives, as a conditional subtype, contain protases constituting irrealis contexts. Before turning to this discussion, however, we might examine the interpretation of indefinites within the contexts of (28)-(30).

The three irrealis contexts exemplified in (28)-(30), like those discussed above, also apparently induce a variable-reading of indefinites embedded within them. One example might here suffice to illustrate this. Such desiderative verbs as **muốn** ("want") entail the lack of fulfillment of some desire, and hence their objects range over the myriad possibilities for fulfillment of that desire. Thus, in (28c), it is asserted that whatever inexpensive car is selected, it will satisfy the speaker. (Again, whether or not a variable will have a unique solution is apparently pragmatically determined.) It should be emphasized that although particular lexical items and syntactic constructions induce irrealis contexts, such cues do not always prevent confusion with other contexts welcoming indefinites. This fact is shown by sentence (20). Pragmatic information apparently provides a means of disambiguation.

Since pragmatic information provides a frame in which to interpret an indefinite when sufficient syntactic cues are absent, one would not wish to claim that each of the four contexts discussed here constitute distinct syntactic constructions. I will claim, however, that one context--the Nomatterative--does have constructional status, because of its consistent syntactic manifestation and the particular semantics associated with that syntactic structure.

As mentioned earlier, the claim that there are four discrete pragmatic/semantic contexts welcoming indefinites--let alone discrete constructions--may be a somewhat artificial one. It seems, for example, that Nomatteratives can incorporate a number of items which we claimed to create irrealis contexts. Such a blending of irrealis and Nomatterative contexts is exemplified in (32b), in which the desiderative verb thích ("like") appears in a Nomatterative. A nonNomatterative paraphrase of this sentence is given in (32a):

(32) a. Cổ thích chọc bất-cứ người nào thấp.
She like tease random person indef-mod be-short
"She likes to tease anyone who is short."
b. Người nào thấp cổ cũng thích chọc
Person indef-mod be-short she c. like tease
"Whoever is short, she likes to tease."

Such data demonstrate that the irrealis and Nomatterative environments are not discrete contexts. Further, Nomatteratives can not only incorporate irrealis predicates but, as mentioned earlier, also apparently represent a conditional subtype. As such, they contain protases, which were claimed to constitute irrealis environments--the irrealis modifier bất-cứ ("any") is often found there. There is, however, a difficulty for the view that Nomatterative protases simply constitute an irrealis environment: it seems that the Nomatterative protasis can include a class of items that is apparently excluded from the irrealis contexts enumerated above: bao-phrases of extent. Before investigating this issue in more detail, however, we should turn to an examination of the Nomatterative construction.

The Nomatterative

The Nomatterative construction, exemplified in sentences (4) and (32b), appears to have two major subtypes. These subtypes are defined according to their clause structure; for this purpose I assume a clause to have, minimally, a subject position filled by a nonindefinite nominal. Firstly, there is the biclausal type, in which the second clause may or may not contain a nonsubject gap into which an argument of the first clause can be integrated. Second, there is the monoclausal type, in which a clause-initial indefinite is immediately followed by either a predicate or a full clause containing a nonsubject gap into which that indefinite can be integrated. In all types, the apparently unglossable word **cũng** must follow the subject of the sole or main clause, whether that subject is an indefinite nominal (in a monoclausal structure) or a definite nominal. The structures of these four subpatterns are summarized in (33); examples of each are given in (34)-(35) below:

(33) **Nomatterative Subtypes**

A shared precedence constraint: the indefinite word or phrase must precede the boundary-marker **cũng** and the subject of apodosis must also precede **cũng**.

a. Biclausal
   - i. Nonindefinite) subjects in both protasis and apodosis; nongapped object position in apodosis
   - ii. (Nonindefinite) subjects in both protasis and apodosis; gapped object position in apodosis filled by indefinite object of protasis

b. Monoclausal
   - i. Indefinite nominal comprising protasis serves as subject of predicate following **cũng** (i.e., appearing in apodosis)
   - ii. Indefinite nominal comprising protasis serves as nonsubject argument of apodosis

(34) a. Cổ làm gì, cổ cũng không được thành-công.
She do indef-thing, she c. not be-able succeed
"Whatever she did, she could not succeed." (33a-i)

b. Cổ gặp ai, cổ cũng cám ơn hết.
She meet indef-person, she c. thank complete.
"Whoever she meets, she thanks."(33a-ii)

(35) a. **Ai cũng học được tiếng Việt.**
Indef-person c. learn can language Vietnamese
"Everyone can learn Vietnamese." (33b-i)
b. **Caí gì con chó cũng ăn.**
Clf indef-thing clf. dog c. eat
"The dog eats everything." (33b-ii)

The sentences in (34) exemplify the biclausal Nomatterative subtype (33a). Sentence (34a) exemplifies the subtype in which neither of the two clauses contains a gap (33a-i). In this sentence, the subjects of the two clauses are coreferential; the biclausal subtype exemplified in sentence (4) is identical to that of (34a), but here there is no coreference relation between the arguments of the two clauses. Sentence (34b) exemplifies the biclausal Nomatterative subtype in which the second clause contains a nonsubject gap (33a-ii); here the object position of the verb **cám ơn** ("thank") is gapped, and the indefinite **ai**, the object of the first clause, is integrated into that position.

The two sentences in (35) represent the monoclausal Nomatterative subtype (33b). In sentence (35a), an instance of subpattern (33b-i), the indefinite **ai** also serves as subject of the predicate **học được** ("can learn"), simultaneously satisfying the two precedence constraints of (33). In sentence (35b), an instance of subpattern (33b-ii), the indefinite phrase, **caí gì**, represents a "preposed" object of the verb **ăn** ("eat"); it precedes the subject of the clause into which it is to be integrated.

Such preposing as that exemplified in (35b) seems to be necessitated by the following constraint upon Nomatteratives, mentioned in (33): the indefinite phrase must appear in the protasis (that portion of the structure which precedes the clause/predicate containing or introduced by **cũng**). While it may seem strange to refer to a single (indefinite) word or phrase in a monoclausal Nomatterative as a protasis (or, for that matter, to refer to a subjectless predicate as an apodosis), it does seem that the construction has a bipartite structure: the first clause, containing the indefinite, establishes a variable; the second clause describes a state of affairs held to remain constant given any value of that variable. The word **cũng** provides a boundary of sorts between these two components: that coded by the indefinite word/phrase or the clause containing it, and that coded by the following predicate or clause. Any indefinite word, whether embedded in a clause or not, must apparently precede the boundary-marker **cũng** in the Nomatterative construction.

This condition is satisfied by the biclausal Nomatterative subtype

(33a) without any deviation from the basic pattern, established above, whereby objects and various adjuncts follow the verb (let us call it SVX); any indefinite nonsubject argument in the clausal protasis will automatically precede the cũng-bearing apodosis. Similarly, among monoclausal Nomatteratives (33b), when the indefinite word or phrase represents the subject of the main clause (as in subpattern (33b-i)), it will thereby precede the subjectless apodosis introduced by cũng. XSV order is only necessary within the monoclausal Nomatterative subtype (33b-ii), wherein the indefinite of the protasis represents an object or other nonsubject argument of the main verb of the apodosis.

It should be noted that the Nomatterative subtype (33b-ii) must also include examples of the following kind, wherein the main clause object is also a subject of its clausal modifier (recall that biclausal status is accorded only to those Nomatteratives having nonindefinite subjects in both protasis and apodosis (33a)):

(36) Ai ở đó, họ cũng hỏi.
Who be-located there they c. question
"They questioned whoever was present."

In (36), a Nomatterative paraphrase of (31), the modified indefinite phrase represents the second argument of the verb hỏi ("question"); it must appear in clause-initial position in order to proceed the apodosis marked by cũng. Such sentences as (36), which may appear biclausal, must be distinguished from such "true" biclausal structures as (34b). Although in both (34b) and (36) the main verb contains an object gap, in (34b) that gap is "filled" by an indefinite word representing an object, rather than a subject, within the protasis. Hence, the constraint that indefinites must appear in the protasis (i.e., pre-cũng position) requires a deviation from SVX order in the monoclausal (36), but not in the biclausal (34b), wherein SVX order is preserved in both protasis and apodosis. The shift to XSV word order among such Nomatteratives as (35b) and (36) can be viewed as means by which to adhere to the construction's protasis-apodosis template, within which the indefinite word or phrase must precede the boundary-marker cũng.

As established in (33), the Nomatterative also requires that the word cũng immediately follow the subject of the main verb. That this ordering constraint is sensitive to subjecthood rather than to the ranking of semantic roles, for example, is demonstrated by data of the following sort:

(37) Ảnh ầy làm gì, ảnh cũng bị lính cảnh-sát bắt.
He that do indef-thing, he c. clf. police catch
"Whatever he did, he got caught by the police."

In sentence (37), which belongs to subtype (33a-i), the word **cũng** immediately follows **ảnh** ("he"), which is linked to a lower-ranking semantic role (that of patient) than is the noun **cảnh-sát** ("police"), which represents an agent. Because the apodosis is in the passive voice, however, the noun bearing the lower-ranking semantic role stands in subject position, while that bearing the higher-ranking semantic role is relegated to peripheral status. It is the patient-subject, rather than the backgrounded agent, which apparently must precede **cũng**. This fact substantiates the claim that it is the subject of the sole or main clause which must necessarily precede **cũng**, rather than the highest ranking semantic role in that clause (although the two typically conflate). The fact that the constraint upon the placement of **cũng** must be stated with respect to subjecthood appears to provide evidence for the saliency of that grammatical function in Vietnamese.

Having examined each of the two precedence constraints set out in (33), we should briefly consider the manner in which these two constraints interact with one another. It was claimed that both the indefinite word/phrase and the subject of the sole or main clause (apodosis) must precede the boundary-marker **cũng**. Among the biclausual subpatterns, the indefinite, as the object of the verb of the protasis, will necessarily not only precede this boundary marker, but also the main-clause subject. In the monoclausal subpattern (33b-i), the indefinite is necessarily also the main-clause subject, and hence both precedence constraints are fulfilled simultaneously. With respect to subpattern (33b-ii), however, the question arises as to whether the indefinite word or phrase must always precede the subject of the apodosis (as in (35b) and (36), e.g,), or whether the subject can sometimes also precede the indefinite. It appears that both orderings are possible, as demonstrated by the following sentences, which contain a preposed indefinite time-adjunct (cf. (10a)):

(38) a. Lúc nào nó cũng không đủ ăn.
Time indef-mod he c. not have-enough eat
"He never had enough to eat."

b. Tôi thì lúc nào cũng nghèo
I topic-marker time indef-mod c. be-poor
"I'm always poor."

Such data show that the statement of the constraint in (33)--wherein both subject and indefinite are required to precede the boundary-marker **cũng**, but neither subject nor indefinite is required to precede the other--is the correct formulation, at least for such cases as (38).

Having investigated some of the syntactic constraints imposed by the Nomatterative construction, we might now turn to its semantic structure. As mentioned, this construction might best be regarded as a type of conditional sentence in which the following type of relationship is asserted to obtain between antecedent and consequent: no matter what value is assumed by a particular variable (which codes some type of condition) that condition will have no effect upon the state of affairs at issue. The invariant state of affairs is coded by the **cũng**-bearing apodosis and the variable is, of course, coded by the indefinite word or phrase in the protasis. This then is another context in which the indefinite item is assigned its variable-interpretation. Again, the presence of this reading within this context is readily understandable, given that the construction is used to make an assertion that an outcome will remain constant given any or all values assumed by the variable.

As mentioned earlier, there appears to be some overlap between the Nomatterative and irrealis contexts--the Nomatterative can incorporate such irrealis items as desiderative verbs and, since protases of conditionals were shown to be irrealis contexts, it might seem that the Nomatterative, as a conditional subtype, contains an irrealis environment in its protasis. Such overlaps makes it difficult to know whether to regard an indefinite in a Nomatterative as licensed by it or by the irrealis context it subsumes. The claim that Nomatterative protases are irrealis contexts is supported by the fact that, as mentioned, the modifier **bất-cứ**, which is apparently confined to irrealis contexts, can appear in the subordinate clause of a Nomatterative sentence. Sentences (39), an instance of subtype (33b-ii), provides an example of this phenomenon:

(39) Bất-cứ cái gì ổng cũng đã làm.
Random clf. indef-thing he c. past do
"Whatever it is, he's done it."

This claim might, however, be impeached by the fact that, as mentioned above, it seems that while **bao**-phrases coding extent are apparently excluded from the irrealis contexts examined, they appear quite comfortable in Nomatteratives, as shown in (40):

(40) Cổ chạy bao nhiêu, cổ cũng không trốn được.
She run how much she c. not escape be able
"However much she ran, she could not escape."

Such data may indicate that, if the Nomatterative is in fact a type of conditional, its protasis is not completely comparable to that of the "ordinary" conditionals given in (26a-b). At any rate, despite its overlap with the irrealis context, the particularized syntax and semantics of the Nomatterative seem to justify its being accorded the status of both a distinct grammatical construction and a separate context for indefinites. In fact, as mentioned earlier, the Nomatterative construction, with its highly specialized syntax, appears to constitute the only context which does not allow ambiguities of indefinite-interpretation.

Conclusion

What has, I hope, been demonstrated here is that an adequate description of the class of indefinites in Vietnamese cannot focus upon a single usage, such as that in content questions or negative sentences, but must instead examine the range of contexts in which these words and phrases appear. It was here shown that one might regard the class of indefinites as having a rather vague associated semantics, which is refined or elaborated by the semantic structures associated with the particular contexts in which they appear. Four such contexts were isolated here, and the function of the indefinite within each was described, with particular attention paid to the question of whether the indefinite in a particular context represents a constant or a variable. It was shown here that the syntactic cues associated with each of these contexts are often not sufficiently reliable to prevent ambiguity as to the function of the indefinite. Thus, it was argued that both linguistic and extralinguistic information should be regarded as defining these interpretive contexts. This account of the indefinites, incorporating the notion of contextual meaning, allows one to avoid the dubious claim that any one of these contexts is more "basic" than another, and instead highlights the range of functions of the indefinites made possible by their apparent lexical underspecification.

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COHESION AND THE YIDDISH CONSECUTIVE ORDER

Kenneth L. Miner

Abstract: Literary Yiddish shows a high frequency of declarative sentences with subject present and the verb in sentence-initial position--the so-called consecutive order. This study is an initial attempt to correlate this construction with cohesive factors; I am essentially testing a hypothesis put forward by Hennig Brinkmann and Klaus Fleischmann regarding the same construction in German, where it is very marginal if part of the Schriftsprache at all.

1 Introduction

Despite a few OV characteristics (den Besten & Moed-van Walraven 1986), Yiddish is most efficiently described as an SVO language, one which has even extended the familiar verb-second rule to clauses with overt complementizers.

There is however a very frequent construction in which the verb is in sentence-initial position, even though the mode is straightforwardly declarative and the subject is present. The result may be treated as a clause or as an independent sentence:

(1) Ikh hob nit gehat keyn gelt, hob ikh ongehoybn arbetn. (Weinreich 1974:122)

'I had no money, so I began to work.'

Hob ikh gevart oyf im. (Weinreich, ibid.)

'So I waited for him.'

Farshteyt nisht zayn shver di mayse.

'His father-in-law did not understand the matter.'

(Birnbaum 1979:304)

This construction, especially common in narrative, has come to be termed, in American textbooks at least, the consecutive order. Note that the construction is frequently (as in the first two examples in (1)) translated as a result clause, but not always (cf. the third example in (1)).

Birnbaum (1979:§209(d),(e)) implies that he sees the construction as the result of elipsis of certain conjunctions, such as deriber, derfar, makhmes dem, all with meanings like 'so' or 'therefore' and all of which, when present, require the verb to follow. He states, "The conjunction may be omitted, but the... word order will still have conclusive force." However he concedes: "The same construction appears even when there is clearly no causative connection." Whence the present study: what in fact does determine the use of the consecutive order?

The view that the meaning is basically resultative seems to be a consensus among grammarians of Yiddish. Schaechter (1986: 193-4) refers to it as the rezultat-seyder or 'resultative order' though he also uses Weinreich's term.[2] It is regularly translated by English 'so' or 'therefore' clauses in textbooks. However, as Birnbaum (loc. cit.) notes, it occurs in many cases in which the meaning is not resultative, or in which we would have to extend the notion of result rather far beyond the meanings of the English and Yiddish conjunctions we have mentioned. Often the events related by the consecutive order show, at first glance, little more connection than sequence in time. From the texts I have examined for this study (to be described below) we may note the following examples:

(2) Hobn zey gezen vi zayn vayb shtet un bakt broyt in oyvn un nebn ir zitst Eleazar un est, yedn broytl vos zi hot fun oyvn aroysgenumen hot er oyfn ort oyfgegesn, biz es iz shoyn nisht geblibn mer keyn teyg in di knet-payle, un der oyvn iz geven leydik. Hot zikh eyner fun di eyzl-traybers ongerufn un gezogt...

'They saw how his wife stood baking bread in the oven and how Eleazar was sitting beside her, and each loaf that she took out of the oven he ate on the spot, until there was no more dough in the dough-tray, and the oven was empty. (So) one of the mule-drivers said...' (1b)

Here, although we can translate with English 'so' (which is after all by no means limited to strictly resultative clauses), what has gone before does not really bring about the remark of the mule-driver. The following is rather similar:

(3) ...un kile vaser-kvaln hobn geflosn dort in tol. Hobn zay zikh ale dort gekert...

'...and cool water fountains were flowing there in the valley. (So) they all turned aside there...' (1d)

Compare now the following examples:

(4) Azoy vi zey hobn zikh nor avekgezetst hobn zey derzen vi a groyser shlang kumt un geyt zey farbay.
Hot R. Eleazar a zog geton tsum shlang...

'No sooner had they seated themselves than they saw a huge snake coming past them.
Rabbi Eleazar said to the snake...' (1d)

Rabbi Eleazar was not caused to address the snake, and, without more background than this, we would be unlikely to use English 'so' in this case.

(5) Hot R. Eleazar a zog geton tsum shlang: 'Shlang, shlang! Ker tsurik, vayl der mentsh vos du geyst im hargnen hot shoyn tshuve geton, er hot kharote gehat oyfn zind vos er hot geton un er hot genumen oyf zikh mer aza shlekhts nisht tsu ton!'
Hobn zikh di khaveyrim gevundert dos tsu hern...

'Rabbi Eleazar said to the snake, 'Snake, snake! Turn back, for the man you are going to kill has repented, he has atoned for the sin that he committed and he has undertaken to do such an evil thing no more!
The disciples were amazed to hear this...' (1d)

Here a causative conjunction seems even less likely than in (4).

(6) ...hot R. Eleazar vider gezogt tsu im: 'Shlang, shlang! Nokhdem vos m'hot dir gezogt fun himl un m'hot dir gegebn reshus tsu gen hargnen yenem mentshn, hot yener kharote gehat oyf zayn zind un er hot genumen oyf zikh es mer nisht tsu ton, ker zikh alzo tsurik fun dayn veg!
Iz der shlang geblibn shten...

!...Rabbi Eleazar spoke again to him: 'Snake, snake! After you were spoken to from heaven and given permission to kill that man, he atoned for his sin and undertook to do it no more; turn back therefore from your path!
The snake merely stood there...' (1d)

Here the meaning seems to be adversative.[3]

Below I will reproduce one of the shorter texts in its entirety in order to show how the consecutive order functions throughout. I turn now to the German grammarians.

2 The Brinkmann-Fleischmann hypothesis

Although verb-initial declarative sentences with subject present are not unknown in formal written German, they are marginal. However, the construction has engendered considerable discussion, much of it historical in nature. Two recent writers have nonetheless offered a structural hypothesis which promises to shed some light on Yiddish.

Mauer (1926:§§67-76), summarizing his earlier and later work, concludes that the construction was common in OHG with all types of verb, began to disappear in late OHG times and died out completely in early MHG. From the middle of the 15th century it appears again, especially in writings based on Latin models and beginning with verbs of saying, whence it spread to other verbs by analogy.

> Der lateinische Einfluss spielt eine Hauptrolle. Aber er erklärt nicht, warum die Erscheinung auf Verba des Sagens beschränkt ist. Der zweite Grund ist der, dass diese Verba schon in einer scheinbaren Anfangsstellung im Gebrauch sind, nämlich im *Einschubsatz*. In Fällen wie *"Das ist sehr schön," sagte der Mann* versteinert *sagte der Mann* zur Formel und wird als gantzes auch vor die direkte Rede gestellt. Dieser psychologische Vorgang könnte sich auch selbständig jederzeit vollziehen. Im 15. Jahrhundert hat das lateinische Vorbild jedoch ganz besonderen Anstoss dazu gegeben. Über die Ausbreitung des neuen Typus, die sich nach den Gesetzen der Analogiebildungen vollzieht, erübrigt sich jede weitere Ausführung.[4] (1926:199-200)

In the Schriftsprache of his own time, Mauer says, the construction survives in comic strips and other sorts of humor, in the usage of certain novelists to create an archaic flavor, and in serialized novellas appearing in newspapers, where he refers to it as an affectation (*Maniriertheit*). A brief excerpt will suffice:

> Geisterte ein Schatten auf dem Schmalpfad des Wehrs und beugte sich tief. Knarrte der Schleusenmund und schloss sich gähnend. Und die Wasser der Stillach freuten sich der Ruh. Strömten zu und gluckerten leise am Stein. Quirlten und murmelten. Wuchsen und dehnten sich wohlig und behäbig.[5]

Biener (1926:248-255) disagrees with Mauer regarding the verba dicendi as the source of the verb-initial declaratives; he offers several pages of new examples with other verbs from the 15th century on.

Fleischmann (1973:210-221), in a comprehensive synchronic study of all cases of sentence-initial verb in German, includes our topic under two headings: (a) folk-song flavor (*Volksliedton*) and (b) slang (dialectal?) in narratives (*Umgangssprachlich (mundartlich?) in Erzählungen*). Here is his characterization:

> Vor allem Erzählungen erhalten durch sie [the clause-initial position-KM] etwas Drängendes; die einzelnen Sachverhalte werden ziemlich unverbunden nebeneinander gesetzt, es fehlt die Distanz, um sie zueinander in eine andere Beziehung als die natürliche, durch die Geschehensfolge gegebene temporale Beziehung oder die im Sprecher ablaufende assoziative Abfolgebeziehung zu stellen.[6] (1973:220)

And:

> Die Abhängigkeit von der Situation verhindert, dass der Sprecher zu dem betreffendem Sachverhalt Stellung nimmt, d.h. ihm einen Platz in einem Relief zuweist.[6]
> (1973:221, Fn 22)

Fleischmann quotes Brinkmann (1962:477) to the same effect:

> Die situationsbestimmte Erststellung der Personalform zeugt fur das dialogische Wesen der Sprache, während die Zweitstellung dazu dienen kann, Mitteilungen zu geben, die unabhängig von der Situation sind.[6]

In a word, the claim is that the German equivalent of the construction we are examining signals a dependence on the situation: the speaker chooses, as it were, not to "take a position" on the relationship between the event coded in the verb-initial construction and the preceeding events, in the sense of providing a particular conjunction; with the verb-initial construction the speaker indicates instead the dependence of that relationship on the situation. If we take the term "situation" to mean discourse context, this claim ought to be interpretable in terms of cohesion as investigated, for example, by Halliday & Hasan 1976.

I have, therefore, explored the possibility that a high degree of cohesion links the consecutive-order clauses to their context. That the consecutive order itself is a cohesive device goes without saying; the first clause in a narrative is never in the consecutive order, and in order to interpret such sentences we must somehow refer to preceding discourse--hence the common "resultative" concept.

3 The Texts

I have examined the consecutive order in a collection of seventeen short narratives published under the title Bedarkhey Avoyseynu (In the Ways of Our Fathers), Vol. III, by Menakhem Gets (Jerusalem, 1979). These are legends of the Tannaim and Amoraim for young people. My coding system for the stories is given in the Appendix.

In order to show the operation of the consecutive order in a complete story, I give 1d, "The Mule Drivers," in its entirety.*

The Mule Drivers

1	R. Eliazar, der zun fun R. Shimon ben Yokhai, hot in zayne yunge yorn nisht gevolt lernen toyre.	Rabbi Eliazar, the son of R. Shimon ben Yokhai, did not want to study Torah in his youth.
2	Er hot beser gevolt zikh fardingen tsu trogn masoes, far mentshn oyf zayne akslen, vi tsu unterboygn zayne akslen far dem yokh fun toyre.	He prefered hiring himself out to people as a burden-bearer, carrying burdens on his shoulders, to bending his shoulders to the Torah.
3	Er iz geven shtark un kreftik un er hot zer fil gegesn.	He was strong and powerful and he ate a great deal.
4	Amol zenen gekumen in zayn shtot eyzl-traybers velkhe hobn gevolt ariberfirn mel fun dort in di nonte dorfer,	One time there came into his town mule-drivers who wished to port meal from there to nearby towns,
→ 5	zenen zey farbaygegangen di shtub fun R. Shimon'en.	they came by the house of Rabbi Shimon.
→ 6	Hobn zey gezen vi zayn vayb shtet un bakt broyt in oyvn un nebn ir zitst Eliazar un est,	They saw how his wife was standing baking bread in the oven with Eliazar standing there eating,
7	yedn broytl vos zi hot fun oyvn oroysgenumen hot er oyfn ort gegesn,	each loaf that she took out of the oven he ate on the spot,
8	biz es iz shoyn nisht geblibn mer kayn teyg in der knet-payle, un der oyvn is geven leydik.	until there was no more dough left in the dough-tray, and the oven was empty.
→ 9	Hot zikh eyner fun di eyzl-traybers ongerufn un gezogt:	One of the mule-drivers said:
10	"Es iz nisht andersh nor az a shlekhter shlang ligt in der gederim fun dozign yung"	"It can only be that an evil serpent is lying in the belly of that boy"
11	"S'zet oys az ot der iz nisht geborn gevorn nor kedey tsu brengen a hunger oyf der velt"-- hot a tsveyter zikh ongerufn.	"It looks as if this one was born only to bring a hunger into the world," another one said.

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*the "ties" may for the moment be ignored.

12	Dos hobn zey geredt tsvishn zikh, ober Eliazar hot zeyere reyd gut gehert un er hot shoyn gevust vos tsu tun zey.	This they were saying to each other, but Eleazar heard their talk very well and he already knew what to do to them.
13	Ven zey hobn ibergelozt dort zeyere eyzlen un zenen gegangen brengen zeyer shkoyre aroyftsulodn oyf di eyzlen,	When they had left their mules mules there and had gone to bring their produce to load onto the mules,
14	hot Eliazar genumen di eyzlen oyf zayne akslen un er hot zey aroyfgefirt eynem eynem oyfn dakh-boydem.	Eliazar took their mules on his shoulders and carried them one by one to the roof.
15	Ven di eyzl-traybers zenen tsurikgekumen mit zeyer shkoyre un hobn nisht gefunen zeyere eyzlen,	When the mule-drivers returned with their produce and didn't find their mules,
16	hobn zey gemakht a geshrey az m'hot zey tsugeganvet zeyere eyzlen.	they shouted that their mules had been stolen.
17	Ober do hot eyner oyfgehoybn zayne oygn in der hoykh	But then one raised up his eyes;
→ 18	hot er derzen di eyzlen in dakh-boydem	he saw the mules on the roof;
→ 19	hobn zey farshtanen az dos iz di di mayse fun Eliazar,	they understood that this was the doing of Eliazar,
20	vorum ver a anderer hot es aza kraft tsu nemen a eyzl oyf di akslen un aroyftrogn oyfn boydem?	since who else had the strength to take a mule on his shoulders and carry it to the roof?
→ 21	Zenen zey arayn tsu R. Shomin'en in shtub un hobn im dertseylt vos zayn zun hot zey getun.	They went into Rabbi Shimon's house and told him what his son had done to them.
22	"Un farvos hot er es aykh getun?" hot zey R. Shimon gefregt--"tsu hot ir nisht im mit epes baleydigt?"	"And why did he do it to you?" Rabbi Shimon asked them--"didn't you somehow insult him?"
23	"Neyn"--hobn zey geentfert--"mir hobn bloyz tsvishn zikh geredt vunderndik zikh oyf zayn groyzn koyekh in esn,	"No"--they answered--"we were just talking among ourselves, amazed at his great prowess in eating,

24	eyner hot gezogt az a shlekhter shlang ligt in zayne gederim... un a tsveyter hot gezogt az er iz gekumen brengen a hunger oyf der velt...ober mir hobn nisht gemeynt az undzere reyd zoln onkumen tsu zayne oyern."	one said an evil serpent lay in his belly...and another said he came to bring a hunger into the world...but we didn't intend our talk to reach his ears"
25	"Un farvos hot ir azelkhes oykh bloyz tsvishn zikh geredt?"--hot zey R. Shimon vayter gefregt--"tsu den est er fun ayers?	"And why were you talking among yourselves that way in the first place?"--Rabbi Shimon asked them further--"does he eat anything of yours?
26	Der Bashefer vos hot im bashafn hot oykh bashafn zayn esn vos er badarf, yetst geyt un bet bay im mekhile un zogt im in mayn nomen az er zol aykh aroysbrengen di eyzlen."	The Creator who made him also made the food that he needs; now go and ask his pardon and tell him in my name to bring down the mules."
→ 27	Hobn zey azoy geton un Eliazar hot zey aropgetrogn zeyere eyzlen.	They did so and Eliazar brought down their mules.
28	Ober anshtot vos frier hot er zey aroyfgefirt eynem eynem hot er zey yetst tsvey tsvey in amol aropgefirt, un ale zenen geshtanen un hobn zikh nisht gekent opvundern, zey hobn nokh aza gvure bay a mentshn nisht gezen.	But instead of one by one as he did before he brought them down two at a time, and everyone stood and could not stop wondering at him; they had never seen such strength in a human being before.

4 Results

There are 920 narrative clauses (that is, excluding reported speech) in the seventeen stories, of which 149, or 16%, are in the consecutive order. Of these, no fewer than 84, or 56%, have verbs of saying as main verb. The counts for the verba dicendi are: 'said', 37; 'answered', 17; 'asked', 11; of the following fewer than ten instances: 'summoned', 'related', 'laughed', 'prayed', 'notified', 'ordered', 'read verse', 'cried', 'called', 'admitted'.

Clearly, in modern literary Yiddish, as in MHG, the consecutive order predominantly affects verbs of saying. Next most prevalent are verbs of motion: 39 out of the 149, or 26%. Most frequent of these is 'went (to)', ten instances; others are 'went by', 'placed (person in seat)', 'went in', 'turned (to him)', 'remained','got up (from sitting position)', 'went with', 'released (hold on s.o.)', 'placed self', 'went by vehicle', 'rose up (wave of sea)', 'became still (sea)', 'fall in', 'untwined self', ran out', 'appeared (to s.o.)', 'arrived', 'jumped over', 'caught', 'didn't want to let go', 'separated self from'.

There were 16 consecutive orders with verbs of mental activity, most frequently 'saw' with six instances; others were 'understood', 'were aggrieved', 'heard', 'decided', 'was heard', 'became angry'.

The remaining ten verbs are almost all actions: 'gave birth', 'was punished', 'met', gave', 'took', 'killed'. Only three statives were found: 'it was the day of', 'was greater than', 'it was so'.

Except for the prevalence of the verbs of saying, probably not much can be attributed to the frequency of verb types or the general frequency of actions over statives; these sorts of verbs are the most frequent in the stories in general. However, there are enough cases of contrast--cases in which we find the same verb in consecutive order and in regular second position--to give us some idea of the cohesion factors. The basic idea in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) concept of cohesion is the tie: a sentence is linked to preceding discourse material, immediate or remote, by an anaphor, a repetition, a lexically subordinate or otherwise related item, etc. In this study we will need only anaphoric ties and repetitions. An anaphoric tie is shown in the example below, from the story given on pp. 86-88 .

(7) Amol zenen gekumen in zayn shtot eyzl-traybers...
zenen zey farbaygegengen di shtub fun R. Shimon'en.

From (6) above, an example of a repetition:

(8) ...hot R. Eleazar vider gezogt tsu im: 'Shlang, shlang!...
iz der shlang geblibn shten...

The cases of contrast I have been able to extract from the stories are as follows (ties indicated; note them with consecutive order):

(9) With verb 'see'.

Verb in second position:
Hot R. Shimon dan gezogt gevise verter, un bald hot arumgenumen di shtub a fayer fun himl.
Un di khaveyrim hobn gezen vi a roykh geyt aroys fun shtub dem gantsn tog.

Rabbi Shimon spoke certain words, and at once a fire from heaven encircled the house.
And the disciples saw a smoke going up from the house the entire day.

Consecutive order:
Amol zenen gekumen in zayn shtot eyzl-traybers...
Hobn zay gezen vi zayn vayb shtet...

Once mule drivers came into his town...
They saw his wife standing...

Notice that when the verb 'see' is in second position, the subject is di khaveyrim, which is not linked to the preceding, while in the case of the consecutive order the subject is the pronoun zey which is tied to eyzl-traybers in the preceding context. Compare still another case with regular order:

(10) Hobn zey im geentfert: 'Gib nor a kuk, ot der roykh kumt aroyf fun a fayer fun oybn, vayl haynt kroynt men R. Eleazar'n mit a heylign kroyn.
Dan hobn di khaveyrim gezen vi fir fliglen fun a adler lozn zikh arop in dem fayer...

They answered him: "Look, this smoke is rising from a fire from above, for today Rabbi Eleazar is crowned with a holy crown.
Then the disciples saw how four eagle's wings were descending into the fire...

In all the examples that follow, the regular order will be contrasted with the consecutive order, in that sequence.

(11) With verb 'go'.

Verb in second position:
Hot R. Eleazar oysgerufn: "Voyl iz undzer kheylek..."
Dan zenen di khevraye tsugegangen tsu R. Yosey'n un hobn im gezogt...

Rabbi Eleazar cried, "Well is our portion..."
Then the disciples went to Rabbi Yosey and said to him...

Consecutive order:
R. Yosey iz a mol ayngefaln in a shtarke krenk.
Iz R. Eleazar zayn eydem im gegangen bazukhn un mevaker-koyle zayn.

Rabbi Yosey once fell very ill.
Rabbi Eleazar his son-in-law went to visit him.and comfort him.

(12) With verb 'turn'.

Verb in second position:
Vi der shlang hot dos gehert hot er zikh bald oysgedret oyf tsurik un er hot genumen shnel loyfn, biz er iz tsurikgekumen tsu der meara.
Dan hot R. Eleazar zikh gekert tsu di khaveyrim...

When the snake heard this he turned back at once and began running rapidly, until he was back at the cave.
Then Rabbi Eleazar turned to the disciples...

Consecutive order:
Ober ot hobn zey oyfgehoybn zeyere oygn un hobn derzen far zikh a shenem feld vos iz badekt gevorn mit tepikher fun frishe grozn, ayngeflanst mit gute beymer...un kile vaser-kvaln hobn geflosn dort in tol.
Hobn zey zikh ale dort gekert un hobn zikh anider gezetst...

But now they lifted up their eyes and saw before them a beautiful field which was covered with carpets of fresh grasses, planted with good trees... and cool water-fountains flowed there in the valley.
They all turned aside there and sat down...

Compare:

(13) "Lomir geyn un ton khesed mit a milgroym vos iz ful geven mit aldings, Zayn nomen iz R. Yosey..."
Di khevrayim hot zikh bald opgekert fun zeyn veg...

"Let us go and perform charity with a pomegranate who is filled with everything (i.e., a learned man). His name is Rabbi Yosey..."
The disciples at once turned aside from their way...

(14) With verb 'release'.

Verb in second position:
Hot R. Eleazar mispalel geven, un der yid iz farheylt gevorn fun zayne vundn.
Ober der shlang hot nokh alts nisht opgelozt dem toytn kerper.

Rabbi Eleazar prayed, and the Jew was healed of his wounds.
But the snake still did not release the dead body.

Consecutive order:
"Shlang, shlang! Ales vos du host geton hostu voyl geton...Geh un bahalt zikh in dayn meara, un ikh bin goyzer oyf dir az mer zolstu keyn shodn nisht ton keyn bashefenishn!"
Hot der shlang bald opgelozn dem kerper...

"Snake, snake! Everything you have done you have done well...Go and hide in your cave, and I decree hereby that you shall no more do any harm to any creature!"
The snake at once released the body...

(15) With verb 'say'.

Verb in second position:
Hot der shlang bald opgelozn dem kerper fun dem
goy, hot aropgeboygn zayn kop un er iz farshvundn
gevorn in zayn lokh.
Dan hot R. Eleazar gezogt tsu dem yidn...

The snake at once released the body of the gentile,
lowered his head and disappeared into his hole.

Consecutive order:
Hot er gezetst zayn zun R. Eleazar lebn im, un hot
im gezogt: "Zits, mayn zun, zits. Vayl fun hayntign
tog verstu geheyligt un du vest vern gerekhnt
tsvishn di heylige layt."
Hot R. Shimon dan gezogt gevise verter...

He seated his son Rabbi Eleazar beside him, and said
to him: "Sit, my son, sit. Fro from this day you become holy and you will be counted among the holy ones."
Rabbi Shimon then said certain words...

In sum: the consecutive order tends strongly to be used in the case of certain classes of action verbs, notably verbs of saying and verbs of motion; when however we find cases of the same verb used in both the consecutive order and in the regular verb-second construction, the consecutive sentences tend to have cohesive ties to the preceding context, usually to the immediately preceding context. Indeed, anaphoric reference to the preceding sentence would seem to be the prototype situation for consecutive sentences.[7]

It appears that the regular construction with verb in second position, in contrast to the consecutive order, is typically used to introduce new material. Let us look again at "The Mule Drivers" on pp. 86-88. Sentences 1-3 may be seen as an introductory outline of the character of Rabbi Eleazar. With sentence 4 the mule drivers enter the story, and this sentence is tied to 5-8, which sets up the scene at the oven. Sentence 9 is in the consecutive order presumably because (a) the verb is a verb of saying and (b) the mule drivers, already brought into the story, are still the topic and sentence 9 is therefore tied to sentence 6. Exactly the same pattern is found in 17-21: in 17, one of the mule drivers happens to look up, which leads to discovery of Eleazar's prank. In 21, though--where the main verb is a motion verb--there is a tie back to the mule drivers again: they are still the topic, in spite of the explanatory digression of 20.

I have found only two exceptions to the above generalizations. One is this:

(16) Consecutive order:

Er hot dan geleyent oyf zikh dem posek: di toyre
iz vi a shif fun sokhrim vos brengt fun vaytn ir
broyt (gemeynt dermit di mayse fun di sokhrim mitn
shif vos zenen in shkus fun zayn toyre nitsl ge-
vorn un hobn im gebrengt hilf).
Dertseyln di khakhomim: di ale yorn fun zayne
yesurim iz keyner nisht geshtorbn far zayn tsayt.

He then applied to the situation the following
verse: the Torah is like a ship of merchants who
bring their bread from afar (meaning thereby the
matter of the merchants with the ship who were
saved by the virtue of his Torah and brought him
help).
The sages relate that in all the years of his
suffering no one died before his time.

Here there is indeed a verb of saying and there is a tie; but since "the sages" are abruptly introduced we would have expected a regular sentence. It may be noted, however, that "the sages" are an overriding topic of these stories.

The other exception constitutes the only example in my data of a consecutive sentence with me(n) 'one' (indefinite pronoun) as subject:

(17) Consecutive order:

Zayn muter hot dershmekt a reyekh fun a gutn esn
un s'hot ir genumen zeyr khaleshn dos harts.
Iz men gekumen tsu Rabbi'n fregn vos m'zol ton...

His mother smelled the aroma of something good to
eat and she began to long for it.
(So) they came to the Rabbi to ask what to do...

The Rabbi mentioned is wholly new to the story at this point. Here we definitely would expect a verb-second sentence. However, perhaps the indefinite pronoun as subject makes this a special case.

NOTES

[1] I gratefully acknowledge the remarks of Bill Keel on this topic. Spelling in the Romanized Yiddish examples is normalized to the YIVO system.

2 Unfortunately I have been unable to see Zaretski 1929, the most often-cited grammatical work on Yiddish.

3 According to Schaechter (1986:61) the consecutive order may indeed have adversative meaning, in which case it is accompanied by special intonation.

4 (transl.) The Latin influence is a major factor, but by itself it does not explain why the phenomenon was limited to the verbs of saying. A second factor was that these verbs were already in what amounts to initial position in *quotations*. In such cases as *"Das ist sehr schön," sagte der Mann* the phrase *sagte der Mann* is frozen into a formula and then used in direct speech as well. This psychological process could have taken place independently at any time; in the 15th century the Latin models gave it a special impetus. The diffusion of the new type follows from the laws of analogical formation and requires no further explanation.

5 Mauer, p. 210. Taken from the *Darmstädter Täglicher Anzeiger*. Almost every sentence begins with the verb.

6 Most of all it gives a narrative a certain urgency. The individual events are rather loosely chained together; there is insufficient distance between them to allow them to be put in any relationship other than the natural one provided by the course of the events themselves or by the course of their associations in the mind of the speaker...Dependence upon the situation prevents the speaker from taking a position with regard to a given event or assigning it to a place in a relief.

The situation-determined initial position of the verb attests to the dialogic nature of speech, while the second position may serve to provide material that is independent of the situation.

7 Oddly enough, Prince (to appear), which contains the only previous speculation on the discourse function of the consecutive order known to me (her §6.2), is led to suggest precisely the opposite hypothesis: that the consecutive order, like the ES + Subj Preposing sentences which are her main topic, mark their subject as "not representing entities which have already been evoked in the discourse." Apparently Prince has overlooked the fact that subjects in consecutive sentences, unlike those in her ES sentences, not only may be but *frequently* are pronominal. Finally, neither Prince nor anyone else I have consulted has remarked on the frequency of the consecutive order with verbs of saying.

APPENDIX

Titles (some ad hoc)	Code	Pages in Gets
The bar-mitsve	1a	7-12
The mule drivers	1b	12-19
Taught by Elijah	1c	19-25
The trust is returned	1d	25-43
The resurrection	1e	44-54
R. Eleazar accepts suffering	1f	55-63
R. Eleazar's wife departs	1g	64-70
The cave departure of the Tsadik	1h	70-77
A pearl from heaven	2a	79-85
The Tsadik's decree fulfilled	2b	86-95
A question of a foot	2c	95-96
A conversation with the Messiah	3a	99-103
A walk with Elijah	3b	103-115
Alive in paradise	3c	115-120
A Tsadik before birth	4a	123-125
This world vs. the world to come	4b	125-128
Torah the best merchandise	4c	128-131

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SYLLABLE STRUCTURE AND INTERLANGUAGE PHONOLOGY

Tim Riney

Abstract: This paper examines several research assumptions and procedures of two recent studies of interlanguage (IL) phonology that use 'syllable structure' as a primary variable, but make opposing claims about 'open' and 'closed' IL syllable structure preference. It is argued that (1) neither IL study sufficiently considers the phonetic structure of the native languages (L1) and target languages (TL), and that (2) syllable structure analyses based on broad categories such as 'open' and 'closed' are inadequately equipped for insightful IL investigation.

The two interlanguage studies to be examined here have appeared in Interlanguage Phonology: The Acquisition of a Second Language Sound System which, according to editors Ioup and Weinberger, reflects 'a resurgence of interest in the phonological aspects of SLA research' (1987:xi). In their introduction to the volume, Ioup and Weinberger state that 'what remains to be made precise in IL phonological research is exactly which developmental processes occur in L2 phonology and why in specific cases transfer is preferred to a L1 learner's simplification strategy' (1987:xiii).

The first study to be examined is Tarone's 'Some Influences on the Syllable Structure of Interlanguage Phonology.' Tarone points out four areas where research in IL phonology is needed: (1) creation of a large data base, (2) investigation of the causes of phonological fossilization, (3) investigation of the processes shaping IL phonology, and (4) investigation of the variability and instability in IL phonology.

I interpret areas (1) and (4) to involve the gathering and interpreting the structure of the data, and areas (2) and (3) to involve how that structure is formed or remains formed (fossilized). If processes are to be identified on the basis of which products or structures they create, then it follows that those structures must first be clearly identified. Addressing areas (1) and (4) is, therefore, prerequisite to addressing areas (2) and (3). One problem involved in addressing areas (1) and (4), however, is that researchers must somehow tabulate the data of the L1, IL, and TL with phonetic categories that can be used to make significant generalizations about IL phonology. It is with this problem in mind that I will now turn to the project of Tarone.

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Tarone describes her project as 'a pilot study' that focuses on IL syllable structure 'in an attempt to determine how it differs from the syllable structure of the TL,' and that 'begins to identify some of the processes which may shape that IL syllable structure.' (Ioup and Weinberger 1987:235) Tarone studies the ILs of two Koreans, two Cantonese, and two Brazilians who are acquiring English. She does not mention subjects' ages at the time of the data collection or at the time of their arrival in the L2 environment. She proposes to investigate evidence of language transfer, reactivation of first language acquisition processes, and universal processes.

Tarone assumes that Cantonese and Brazilian Portuguese are both 'open syllable' or 'CV' languages that share a large proportion of identical segment sequences with English, and that syllable structure errors in English made by speakers of these L1s would be difficult to attribute to anything other than transfer. She also assumes that Korean, on the other hand, is a 'closed syllable language' and, consequently, would provide a good test case for demonstrating syllable structure preference. Her reasoning is that if speakers of a 'closed syllable L1' produce an 'open syllable IL' for a 'closed syllable TL' then they would be demonstrating a 'universal preference' for open syllables.

Given her assumptions about open and closed L1 and L2 syllable structures, Tarone uses her findings to support her claim that there exists a universal open syllable preference, a claim that I intuitively agree with on the basis of a large number of informal observations subjects involving a wide variety of L1 and L2 groups. In the way of improving future IL research design, however, I would like to make several observations about Tarone's study.

Tarone's interpretation of the L1 and L2 structures: For her project, Tarone uses Korean as an example of a 'closed-syllable language' -- although she acknowledges that it is generally considered to be an 'open' syllable language. In fact, in Korean, only seven [+cons] segments may be pronounced in coda final position (Encyclopedia Britannica 1981, s.v. Korean language) as opposed to 20 or more which may occur in the major dialects of English. Although Tarone calls her study a 'pilot study,' and seems to qualify her assumptions (e.g., Ioup and Weinberger 1987:241), Sato interprets Tarone to have reported 'clear evidence' (Ioup and Weinberger 1987:250, and discussed below) of open syllable preference.

In describing the L1 and the L2, Tarone follows the convention of defining 'open' and 'closed' syllable structure only in terms of [+/-cons]. According to Tarone, 'Cantonese and Portuguese are both considered to be more or less open-syllable languages' with 'most syllables being of a consonant-vowel, or CV, variety; and Korean 'is also considered to be primarily an open-syllable language.' According to Tarone, however, Korean 'contains a much more complicated syllable structure, especially in its final consonant structure, than either Cantonese or Portuguese,' and a comparison of Korean and English 'shows much more similarity of syllable structure' (Ioup and Weinberger 1987:237). On the basis of this 'similarity' between Korean and English, Tarone assigns Korean to the role of being the 'closed syllable' language in her study.

Tarone describes her interpretation of subjects' errors as follows: 'In many cases it was hard to tell whether an error was the result of language transfer or not' and 'whenever there was any doubt in the investigator's mind about the origins of any particular error, that error was classified as language transfer rather than 'non-transfer'(Ioup and Weinberger 1987:240). She then interprets the majority of errors in syllable structure made by the subjects to be due to the influence of language transfer.

Tarone concludes that 'the dominant process influencing the syllable structure of the interlanguage phonology appeared to be language transfer' and that 'a preference for the open (CV) syllable seemed to operate as a process independent of language transfer in influencing the syllable structure of the interlanguage phonology' (Ioup and Weinberger 1987:243).

Tarone's interpretation of the IL structures: Tarone describes her interpretation and quantification of the IL structures as follows:

> The score noted the number of errors in syllable structure made by each subject. An error in syllable structure was categorized as (1) epenthesis, (2) consonant deletion, and (3) insertion of glottal stops. The score did not include the substitution of one C for another C, or of one V for another V, since such substitutions do not substantially alter the syllable structure. (Ioup and Weinberger 1987:238)

Tarone 's analysis appears to interpret the data only in categories of 'Cs' and 'Vs' where each segment is counted as either present or absent as a 'C' or 'V'. Phonemic identity and phonetic features are ignored. This type of analysis ignores to what extent English segments may be said to be equivalent to Korean segments, although major differences exist. Korean, for example, has three sets of stops -- fortis aspirated, fortis unaspirated, and lenis (Ladefoged 1971).

The other study to be examined here is Sato's 'Phonological Processes in SLA: Another Look at IL Syllable Structure.' In a longitudinal study, Sato describes two Vietnamese boys' (10 and 12 years old) acquisition of English initial and final clusters. Sato summarizes her project and findings as follows:

> Longitudinal data from two Vietnamese learners of English were examined in this study to provide insights into IL syllable structure. As in previous research by Tarone (1980:148), first language emerged as 'the dominant process influencing syllable structure in interlanguage phonology.' Specifically the present study showed that L1 transfer is reflected in Vietnamese English IL as (1) a preference for the closed syllable in the modification of English syllable-final CCs; (2) greater difficulty in the production of final than initial clusters; and (3) negligible use of epenthesis as a syllable modification strategy. These results were interpreted as evidence against the hypothesized universal preference for the CV syllable and the hypothesized prevalence of epenthesis as a syllable modification strategy in IL speech. (Ioup and Weinberger 1987:260)

Sato interprets her findings to be counterevidence to Tarone's 'universal preference for CV syllable' and to Oller's hypothesized prevalence of epenthesis as a syllable modification strategy in IL speech, also reported by Tarone (Ioup and Weinberger 1987). Sato aligns herself with Tarone's finding that 'first language emerged as the dominant process' but opposes Tarone's hypothesized syllable structure preference. These two experiments, which produced conflicting findings, may be outlined as follows:

	L1	IL	TL	Claim
Tarone:	Closed	Open	Closed	Open Preference
Sato:	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed Preference

I intuitively agree with both Sato and Tarone that L1 transfer must be a major force shaping IL phonological structure, and with Tarone that there may be some inherent 'open syllable preference.' I would like to continue to examine, however, a few assumptions and procedures underlying the interpretations and claims made by these two studies. The remainder of the discussion of Sato is divided into the three parts: (1) the interpretation of the structure of L1, (2) the interpretation of the structure of L2, and (3) the interpretation of the structure of IL.

Sato's interpretation of the structure of L1: In the beginning of her article, Sato describes the Vietnamese L1 syllable structure type as 'difficult to determine' and based on 'admittedly limited evidence, it can be tentatively proposed that Vietnamese prefers the closed syllable' (Ioup and Weinberger 1987:251-252). Near the end of the article, however, this interpretation of the L1 Vietnamese syllable structure as closed is used to confirm a project hypothesis:

> It was hypothesized that, because of L1 transfer [of closed syllables], Vietnamese English IL would show a preference for closed rather than open syllables in the modification of English syllable-final (SF) consonant clusters (CCs). This hypothesis was confirmed. (Ioup and Weinberger 1987:260)

In fact, the status of Vietnamese as a closed syllable language is questionable. Both Thompson (1965) and Liem (1970) indicate that Vietnamese syllable structure is best described as CV and open and not CVC and closed. One might argue that if Vietnamese are capable of producing (C)V(C) syllables then the percentages of closed and open syllables are insignificant. The percentages here are significant, however, in that they correspond to a significant fact about Vietnamese coda structure: only eight [+cons] singletons and no clusters are permitted -- as opposed to more than 20 singletons and more than 60 two-segment and three-segment [+cons] clusters permitted as English codas.

On the basis of 'admittedly little evidence' that Vietnamese is a closed syllable language, Sato concluded the following:

> Analysis revealed, for both learners, that modification of syllables containing CCs more frequently yielded closed rather than open syllables. Specifically, it was shown that cluster reduction by one segment was favored over other processes: cluster deletion, vowel epenthesis, and feature change. These results cannot, therefore be viewed as support for the alternative hypothesis of a universal preference for the open syllable. (1987:258)

Even if one accepts Sato's interpretation of the L1 Vietnamese syllable structure as closed, it is not clear why the reduction of a two-segment TL final cluster to a one-segment IL final consonant is evidence against an open syllable preference. One may just as reasonably argue that the cluster which has been reduced from two segments to one segment has been 'half-opened,' and manifests an open syllable preference.

Sato's interpretation of the structure of the L2: Sato speaks of cluster reduction, especially with regard to final clusters, but makes no reference to the fact that reduction is a common behavior in all dialects of English, including Vernacular Black American English (VBE) which would be spoken among persons 'enrolled in a local public school in a predominantly black community outside Philadelphia' (Ioup and Weinberger 1987:252), where Sato conducted her research.

Some types of cluster reduction are part of the target language, whatever dialect is assumed to be the target dialect. In a project involving 40 subjects, Riney (1987) presents evidence that the English of Vietnamese is distinguished not by having reduced clusters -- but by having certain types of reduced clusters that the TL English does not have. Riney also points out that the Vietnamese subjects whose English is most target-like are not those who have all TL clusters (and other features) complete and intact, but those who reduce their clusters (and modify other features) in ways that most closely characterize the reductions and modifications of native TL English speakers.

Sato's interpretation of the structure of the IL: Riney (1987) also reports that final epenthesis (or 'epithesis') is insignificant among subjects 10 to 12 years old, but that it is widespread among adults who arrived in the L2 environment after the hypothesized critical age period of age 12. This potential for IL variation due to age of arrival in the L2 environment may have been overlooked by Sato when she reported that a 'third major result' of her study was 'the disconfirmation of the hypothesized primacy of vowel epenthesis as a syllable modification process in all ILs' and that 'the virtual absence of epenthesis in the Vietnamese English IL data examined here suggests that this phonological process is strongly influenced by constraints in the first language' (Ioup and Weinberger 1987:259).

In her tabulation of the IL structures, Sato reports that she used four categories for analysis: (1) complete absence of cluster, (2) reduction of a cluster by one segment, (3) reduction of a cluster through vowel epenthesis, and (4) a feature change in one or more members of the cluster. As did Tarone, Sato approached her data primarily in terms of 'Cs' and 'Vs' present or absent and without regard to specific phoneme identity or phonetic features. With regard to her coding of these categories, Sato reported procedures that do not address the fact that deletion patterns may vary between monomorphemic and bimorphemic suffixes, and that unstressed suffixes are deleted more than stressed syllables. Furthermore, Sato does not address the fact that TL forms are not invariably complete forms in native speaker English. For example, Sato's data includes [juzd] for the target of 'used' -- despite the fact that the final /d/ is commonly devoiced or deleted (e.g., in 'used to' as [yustu], and in 'used car' as [yuskar]). It has been widely documented that many TL cluster modifications and reductions are normal among native speakers (e.g., see Wolfram and Fasold 1974).

Conclusion: I do not know to what extent the two studies examined above may be said to be representative of current research in IL phonology, but their appearance in Ioup and Weinberger (1987) suggests to me that they must be considered by some to be state of the art. Assuming that they are at least representative of the field, I think that the field should be considered in light of the statement reported above by editors Ioup and Weinberger that 'what remains to be made precise in IL phonological research is exactly which developmental processes occur in L2 phonology' (1987:xiii). It appears to me that 'what remains to me made precise' is the IL phonological research itself.

In this paper I have attempted to demonstrate that the opposing claims made by Tarone and Sato about IL processes are of little consequence because they have been made on the basis of too little consideration for the phonetic structures of the languages (L1, IL, and TL) involved. Both researchers described target consonant segments in a manner that ignored phonemic and phonetic detail, and with coding schemas that do not permit others to retrieve the phonetic detail and reexamine the data from a more precise point of view. I would like to discourage future studies from the practice of approaching IL phonology on the basis of contrasting L1 and L2 canonical forms -- and ignoring phoneme identity, phonetic features, and feature distribution and sequence constraints. Furthermore, future IL studies may want to place less emphasis on attempting to verify SLA processes and constraints, and more emphasis on reexamining, identifying and describing the L1, IL, and TL structures that previous researchers have assumed to be implicated in those processes and constraints.

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Socially Deictic Use of a Body-part Term in Turkish

Mübeccel Taneri

Abstract: In this paper I analyze the use of a particular body part term in Turkish. The analysis is partly based on the work by Liston 1972. Furthermore, I demonstrate that this particular body part term appears frequently in usage with socially determined deictic meanings.

Body-part terms (herein after "BP terms") display prominent functions in terms of the following three criteria (Liston 1972:333):

(1) they give rise to derived words,

(2) they spawn idioms,

(3) they appear in egressive polysemes, in other words,

they are utilized outside their corporeal domains.

Liston provides some examples of BP terms with idiomatic usage based on a Serbo-Croatian English dictionary. For instance oko 'eye' occurs in 30 idioms (Liston 1972:334):

čuvati nešto kao zjenica svog oka

Literally, "to watch over something like the pupil of one's eye," and it means "to watch over the most important thing."

Some of the usages of BP terms in other domains in Serbo-Croatian include the following:

kapak	eyelid	lid (on a bottle)
oko	eye	eye (of a needle)
nos	nose	nozzle

The implication inferred from the above is that BP terms with the largest functional load occupy the highest level in the usage hierarchy. Their grammatical load is defined in terms of the above criteria.

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In Turkish we also find a large number of lexical items derived from BP terms with some formative suffixes, such as -lE, -lI, and -sIz.[1] There are also expressions which incorporate BP terms and their derivative forms.

In this paper I will demonstrate that one particular BP term, baš 'head', has a significantly large number of derivations, especially with social deictic meanings.

The following procedures will be followed in the analysis of this term:

1. With respect to the formative suffix -lE, which derives verbs from nouns and adjectives, BP terms will be classified into two groups on the basis of frequency of their usage. If the derived verbs appear in more speech situations, they will be identified as unmarked. The marked category will represent those derived verbs whose usage is governed by some constraints in terms of speech situations.

The unmarked BP terms will be tested further by whether or not they (1) give rise to more derived words, (2) spawn more idioms and, (3) extend to the use outside their corporeal domains, e.g., social and topographical phenomena. Finally, some of their usages which call for a different approach to meaning will be discussed.

1.1. The suffix -lE, which is a highly productive one, derives verbs (mostly transitive) from nouns and adjectives illustrated as below:

temiz: adj. clean	-	temiz-le: v. to clean
baa: n. a string, cord etc. used to tie things	-	baa-la: v. to tie
taš: n. stone	-	taš-la: v. to throw stones
tuz: n. salt	-	tuz-la: v. to put salt on
paket: n. package	-	paket-le: v. to wrap to make a package

The above derivatives have a meaning based on (1) one of the inherent functions of the noun from which they derive, in the case of baa-la 'to tie' or tuz-la 'to put salt on, (2) the action whose end result is the quality the adjective describes or the referent the noun stands for, in the case of temiz-le 'to clean' or paket-le 'to wrap up an item into a package' respectively. More examples of each type are given in the Appendix.

Similarly, almost all of the BP terms, (although not the compounded ones such as göz kapaɨ 'eyelid', function as verbs with the above mentioned verb formative. Although there is a change in their grammatical category, the semantic content is basically retained with the exception of only one BP term which will be discussed below. The usage of almost all of the derived verbs is governed by extra linguistic factors such as formality. Among the derivative verbs that appear in the sentences (a) below, baš-la 'to start, to begin' does not have any restrictions on its usage with respect to formality. Göüs-le, with its metaphoric usage 'face difficulty', can also appear both in formal and informal speech situations just like baš-la. The rest must have their (b) constructions in formal usage.

Regarding formality, I am mainly taking the speech of news announcers on TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) as the criterion for the concept of formal speech. The other criterion is the usage of language observed in official documents. The forms sub-grouped as (a) in the following sentences appear in informal speech situations. The alternative phrases in (b), however, will have to be utilized in formal speech situations. The following illustrate the point:

1. (a) baš-la : v. to start, to begin
head-der suff

(b) baš-la : v. to start, to begin
head-der suff

2. (a) göüs-le :
chest-der suff

v. i. to obstruct a moving object (i.e. a ball) with the chest, ii. to face with the difficulties, endure hardship

(b) göüs-ün-le yakala/karšɨla
chest-poss 2sg-instr-der suff catch/meet

'catch/obstruct s.t. with chest'

3. (a) omuz-la: v. to put on your shoulder
shoulder-der suff

(b) omuz-un-a al
shoulder-poss 2sg-to put

'to put on your shoulder'

4. (a) diš-le: v. bite
tooth-der suff

(b) diš-in-le kopar
tooth-poss 2sg-instr detach

'to detach s.t. with your teeth'

5. (a) tɨrnak-la: v. scratch (with nail)
nail-der suff

(b) tɨrnak-ɨn-la kopar
nail-poss 2sg-instr detach

'to detach s.t. with nail'

6. (a) parmak-la: v. get into with your finger
finger-der suff

(b) parma-ɨn-la al
finger-poss 2sg-instr get

'to get into s.t. with your finger'

7. (a) dirsek-le: v. to nudge
elbow-der suff

(b) dirse-in-le dey
elbow-poss 2sg-instr touch

'to touch s.t. with your elbow'

8. (a) ayak-la: v. to smash with feet
feet-der suff

(b) aya-in-la ez
feet-poss 2sg-instr smash

'to smash with your feet'

It seems that in formal speech situations BP terms are rarely used. The context, for instance, in which the expressions in Nos 3 and 7 (b) above are likely to be heard, is a dance hall where the instructor may utter the followings:

1. eş-in-i omuz-un-a
   partner-2sg poss-direct obj shoulder-2sg poss

   al
   take

   'Put your partner on your shoulder.'

2. eş-in-e dirsek-in-le dey
   partner-poss-acc elbow-2sg poss-with touch

   'Touch your partner slightly with your elbow.'

One of the characteristics of the derivative baş-la 'to begin', when compared with similar derivatives, is that the speaker thinks of no association between the BP term baş 'head' and its derived form başla 'to begin'. When the consultants used for this project were asked about a possible relationship, they all stated except one who has some knowledge of linguistics that the apparent similarity between them is just accidental. It seems that what had started as a metaphor has become an arbitrary relation between the form baş-la 'to begin' and the referent the form baş 'head' stands for.[2] This is not the case with the other BP terms and their derivative verb forms subgrouped as (a) above which do not call for any metaphoric interpretation with the exception of göüsle 'to face difficulties.'

The above observations establish the status of baş 'head' as the most unmarked BP term with the largest functional load in usage.

The suffixes -sIz, and -lI derive adjectives from nouns as follows:

1. (a) ayak-lı: adj. with legs, as in:

   bir ayak-lı adam
   one foot-with man

   'a one-footed man'

   (b) ayak-sız: adj. with no legs, as in:

   ayak-sız kadın
   foot-without woman

'a woman with no legs'

2. (a) baš-lɨ: adj. i. with head, ii. with a knob, iii. in 'belli bašlɨ' well known, as in:

(i) iki baš-lɨ janavar
two head-with monster

'a monster with two heads'

(ii) baš-lɨ sopa
head-with stick

'a stick with a knob'

(iii) belli baš-lɨ kiši
well known person

'a notable person'

(b) baš-sɨz: adj. i. without a head, ii. without a leader, as in:

(i) baš-sɨz jeset
head-without corpse

'a corpse with no head'

(ii) baš-sɨz ulus
head-without nation

'a nation with no leader'

All BP terms can appear with these two suffixes and the derived adjectives are descriptive with respect to having or not having the quality that the noun stands for. Some formatives, however, do not appear with all BP terms. For instance -lIk, which derives nouns from nouns, does not occur with many BP terms. Frequently, the derivatives with this suffix carry the semantic content which indicates that the referent of the new form is an instrument with a specific function in relation to the given organ. The following illustrate the point:

1. göz-lük: n. glasses
eye-der suff

2. diz-lik: n. knee-pad

knee-der suff

3. kulak-lɨk: n. hearing aids
ear-der suff

4. aɨz-lɨk: n. pipe
mouth-der suff

5. baš-lɨk: n. i. helmet, ii. cowl, iii. briddle, iv. title of a book, v. heading of an article, vi. (in parts of Anatolia) bride price

As observed in the above examples, only the term baš 'head' has more semantic extensions than the rest.

In addition to the above usages, baš occurs also in more grammatical classes than the others. The following expressions function as adverbs whereas almost no other BP terms occur in this grammatical category.

baš-tan baš-a: adv. completely
head-from head-to

baš-tan ašaɨ / baš-tan yukarɨ : adv. completely
head-from bottom / head-from top

baš baš-a :
head head-to

adv. together, tête-à-tête, face to face;
confidentially

2. H. C. Hony's Turkish-English dictionary (1947) provides about a hundred entries for baš. This outnumbers the number of entries for all of the other BP terms except göz 'eye', which has as many entries as baš. Among all these entries, very few seem to be obsolete, while some other expressions and proverbs, with which I am familiar, are not recorded in the dictionary, some of which may be considered to be regional.

2.1. I will first discuss some proverbs with the term baš. Proverbs are generally used more in rural areas where traditional values are relatively persistent (Hayes 1987). When formality is not required, however, proverbs appear in every layer of the social structure for advice and guidance as well as for making a point more succinctly. Because of the striking effect a proverb can produce, it would not be out of place to find some of them in some speech situations which are classified as formal in terms of one of the criteria mentioned above, namely the use of language in official documents. The following expression, for instance, is often seen as a written warning for people to keep forests unharmed:

yaš kesen   baš keser
wet cut-adj.cl.mark. head cut-aorist

'The one who cuts down a tree is just like the one who murders a man.'

For the following to be used properly, however, informal social settings are required:

- akɨl-sɨz   baš-ɨn
  brain-without head-gen

ǰeza-sɨ-nɨ
punishment-poss 3sg-dirt. obj

ayak ček-er
foot endure-aorist

'It is the feet that endure the inconvenience that a brainless head causes.'

- baš ol da,   soan baš-ɨ   ol
  head be somehow onion head-comp.suff-be

'Be a leader, no matter how unimportant it may seem to you.'

- akl-a   gel-me-yen   baš-a
  mind-to come-neg-adj.cl.marker head-to

gel-ir
come-aorist

'What may not occur to you may happen to you.'

2.2. Apart from the proverbs mentioned above, there are verbs whose primary semantic content assume metaphorical usage when they are compounded with baš. The following provide examples:

baš kaldɨr- : v. to revolt
head to raise

- hükumete baškaldɨran kabile liderleri bir bayrak
  goverment revolting   tribe leaders   a   flag

altɨnda toplandɨ
under   united

'The chiefs of the tribes that revolted against the goverment united under one flag'

baš ček- : v. to take the lead, to guide
head to pull

baš-ɨ   ček-en   kim
head-def pull-adj cl mark who

'Who is leading?'

baš-tan   čɨk- : v.
head-from get out

'to throw off restraint, to get out of control, to be led astray'

čojuu   baš-tan   čɨkarma
child-obj head-from be let astray

'do not cause the child to go astray'

2.3. *Baš* can be used in different constructions to indicate social ranks, specific points in both settled areas and in the area of residence. The following are some compound nouns indicating higher social status in the professional area signalled by the second part of the compound:

bašbakan: n. the prime minister

baščavuš: n. sergent-major

baškan: n. president, chairman

bašk'atip: n. first secretary, chief clerk

baškumandan: n. comander-in-chief

baš muharrir: n. editor-in-chief

baš murakɨb: n. controller-in-chief (financial)

bašö:retmen: n. head master

There are no expressions, concerning BP terms, which refer to the opposite end of the social ranks, such as 'foot soldier'. The term 'foot', however, does appear in grammatical constructions, but only with derogatory connotations.

With respect to residential areas the following show either a relative status or a specific area:

1. baš-kent: n. capital (of a country)
   head-city

2. köše baš-ɨ: n. the corner (of a street)
   corner head-comp.suff

3. ojak baš-ɨ: n. by the hearth, by the fire
   hearth head-comp.suff

4. yol bašɨ: n. the cross road
   road head-comp.suff

5. baš uj-u-nda: at the side of the bed
   head end-comp.suff-loc

6. havuz baš-ɨ: n. the pool and its surroundings[3]
   pool head-comp.suff

In most expressions, the deictic use of baš indicates 'top, starting point, beginning'. There are expressions, however, which challenge this observation, as these require further thinking. Observe the expressions:

1. alt baš / üst baš
   bottom head / top head

2. (a) tahta-nɨn üst baš-ɨ 'the top of the board'
       board-gen. top head-poss

   (b) tahta-nɨn alt baš-ɨ
       board-gen. bottom head-poss 3sg

       'the bottom of the board'

3. (a) oda-nɨn üst baš-ɨ
       room-gen. top head-poss 3sg

   'the part of the room opposite to the door'

   (b) oda-nɨn alt baš-ɨ
       room-gen. bottom head-poss 3sg

   'the part of the room with close proximity to the door'

It is quite reasonable to think that the referents of some spatial terms, i.e., *oda* 'room', *karatahta* 'blackboard', and *sayfa* 'a leaf of a book', are visualized in the shape of a head with sub-divisions as "lower" and "upper head" in the minds of the speakers.[4] Therefore, there is no conflict in the semantic content in the following:

sayfa-nɨn üst baš-ɨ
leaf-gen 3 sg top head-poss 3 sg

'the top of the page'

sayfa-nɨn alt baš-ɨ
leaf-poss bottom head-gen

'the lower part of the page'

In addition to the above different senses of *baš*, when antonym is involved, the term *baš* displays variability on the scale of collocational range as well. Its sense association differs depending on what combination of linguistic units it appears with. For example *baš* with the sense of enclosure appears as *üst* *baš* versus *alt* *baš* as discussed above while some other usages show different collocations as the following:

roman-nɨn baš-ɨ
novel-gen 3sg head-poss

'the beginning of the novel'

roman-ɨn son-u
novel-gen 3sg end-poss 3sg

'the end of the novel'

ċay-ɨn baš-ɨ
stream-gen 3sg head-poss

'the source of the stream'

ċay-ɨn aya-ɨ
stream-gen foot-poss

'the lower end of the stream or the impure parts of it'

The topographically extended usage of *baš* 'head' is as follows:

1. su baš-ɨ: n. at the fountain (spring or body of water)

2. göl baš-ɨ: n. the shore of a lake with foliage where people prefer to get some rest

3. yar baš-ɨ: n. top of a cliff

4. da: baš-ɨ: n. i. the top of a mountain, ii. away from one's hometown and immediate family

5. a:j baš-ɨ: n. top of a tree

6. tarla baš-ɨ: n. the part of a field with some saliency such as a tent or foliage

3. Some expressions demand different explanations of meaning whose scope encompass, among others, communicative intentions. With words, several purposes are achieved. Utterances have the power to state "who we are and what we hope our interlocutors know" (Rosaldo 1982:204).

1. baš üst-ü-ne 'I will'
head top-poss-dat

One of the categories of illocutionary acts is known as *commissives* (Bach and Harnish 1979). By uttering the above expression, the speaker performs an act of aknowledging a given order with the implication that it will be promptly carried out. For the act to be proper, the order must necessarily be uttered by someone with a higher rank or executive power in an institution. The same response to an order may be used as a sarcastic remark if the relevant felicity conditions are not fulfilled.

Similarly, but quite different in some respects, a promise about caring for someone and most likely providing for him moneywise is assumed with the following expression:

2. baš-ɨm-ɨn üst-ü-nde yer-in
head-gen 1sg-gen 3sg top-poss-on place-poss 2sg

var
there is

Literally, 'you have your place on top of my head'

The social setting is quite different from that for sentence 1 above. No formality of any sort originating from rank or power difference in a social structure is involved. Rather an informal, unpresumptuous promise is assumed in a humble manner. The hearer might be an in-law who has just lost his spouse and has been engulfed with grief or a young mother with three or four children, whose husband has just died in a tragic accident leaving them practically at the mercy of anyone. It is quite possible for anyone in the community to assume the benefactory role. However, the expression under discussion cannot be properly used by a total stranger but can be by the members of the family circle, relatives or very close friends.

Some expressions reflect conventions precisely and effectively. A certain social situation is formally observed with their usages. For instance, the following are the ones seen in obituary columns, on sympathy cards or when they are delivered personally to perform the act of expressing condolence:

(a) kal-an-lar-a baš
survive-adj cl mark pl-indir.obj. head

sa:lɨk-ɨ diler-iz
health-dir.obj. wish-1pl

'We wish health to the heads of those survived'

(b) baš-ɨnɨz sa: olsun
head-2pl healthy be

'May your head be healthy.'

On those days, when one would have to spend hours, and in some cases days, in reaching his destination, what was said as a response to a question within greetings, which is highly cultural-bound, is now jokingly proclaimed to insinuate an indirect request. It may well be the case, however, that in rural areas this speech situation is still alive. The following brief conversation illustrates the point:

Host: ač-mɨ-sɨn, susuz-mu-sun,
hungry-ques-2sg thirsty-ques-2sg

uykusuz-mu-sun
sleepy-ques-2sg

'Are you hungry, thirsty or sleepy?'

Guest:	göl	baš-i-nda	uyu-du-m
	lake	head-comp.suff-loc	sleep-past-1sg

gel-di-m
come-past-1sg
'Before coming here, I slept by the lake.'

On the above, the guest, by leaving out the part of the requested information (concerning the state of being hungry), leaves the host to figure out the unspoken intention, who in turn would ask the hostess to serve their guest some food.

baš-im-a	gel-en-ler-i
head-poss 1sg-indirt.obj	come-adj.cl.mark-pl-obj

duy-du-n-mu
hear-past-2sg-ques

'Have you heard what has happened to me?'

The above utterence is meant to instigate the beginning of a conversation. However, if we imagine a context in which the hearer can not afford for such an interaction to take place, say in an office where the hearer is obliged to get a particular job done, he might indirectly refuse to listen to his co-worker, stating an excuse such as the following:

üzgün-üm	ne	ol-du
sorry-1sg	what	happen-past

diy-e-mi-yecek-im
say-ability-neg-future-1sg

'I am sorry I cannot ask what happened to you.'

baš-im-da	šimdi	bu	iš	var
head-poss 1sg-loc	now	this	work	there is

'I have this work to do right now.'

If the above assumption about the speech setting is a fact, the failure to cooperate to initiate a conversation would not be taken as an offense. Even though performatives are utterances in which saying something is equal to doing something, the illocutionary act has to be interpreted according to the context in which it is performed (Souza Filho 1984:100). Therefore, the refusal to initiate a conversation can be taken, in some cases, as a request for help.

4. Conclusion: After finding that the BP term baš carries the largest functional load in the usage of the language in general, I have presented some of the expressions that it gives rise to. Possible different interpretations of the use of some of these expressions have been investigated. This brief examination supports the assumption that, for the speakers of Turkish, the BP term baš has some cultural significance although probably it is not unique with this language. One thing that is certain is that the usages illustrated in this paper show cultural facts and the social structure of the society. Some of the expressions assume certain meanings in accordance with the context they are used in, and thus in this sense, they are regarded as deictic.

NOTES

[1] Due to the rules for the vowel harmony in Turkish, morphemes display variations whose underlying representations are generally symbolized in the literature with the usage of capitalization for the vowel segment.

[2] baš has an entry as a BP term in an etymological dictionary (Clauson 1972:375). So is baš-la as a derived verb from baš with the semantic content 'to begin to lead' (381).

[3] A pool, usualy in a summer residence, has two-fold significance: (i) with running water in the form of a fountain, it supplies water for farming, (ii) in summer, it serves as a place where social gatherings are conducted.

[4] I am indebted to my Prof. Akira Yamamoto, whose insightful explanation has resolved this apparently conflicting usage.

APPENDIX

Nouns as the stem:

kök: n. root, -le: v. tr. to root out

zehir: n. poison, -le: v. tr. to poison

kapak: n. lid, -la: v. tr. to put the lid on

bɨčak: n. knife, -la: v. tr. to stab

iine: n. pin, needle, -le: v. tr. to pin down

čivi: n. nail, -le: v. tr. to nail

zamk: n. glue, -la: v. tr. to glue

ütü: n. iron, -le: v. tr. to iron

čapa: n. hoe, -la: v. tr. to hoe

su: n. water, -la: v. tr. to water

yaa: n. oil, -la: v. tr. to oil

yara: n. wound, -la: v. tr. to wound

topal: n. a lame, -la: v. intr. to lame

kundak: n. a bundle, -la: v. tr. to bundle

kutu: n. a box, -la: v. tr. to put in a box

tembih: n. warning, -la: v. tr. to warn

sol: n. left, -la: v. tr. take over from left

karšɨ: n. opposite, la: v. tr. to meet

yol: n. road, way, -la: v. tr. to send

čözüm: n. solution, -le: v. tr. to solve

kučak: n. lap, -la: v. tr. to embrace

tapu: n. the official registered form of a property
    -la: v. tr. to register property into s.o's name

yük: n. load, -le: v. tr. to load

Adjectives as the stem:

zor: adj. difficult, -la: v. tr. to exercise force or effort on s.o. or s.t.

ačɨk: adj. open, -la: v. tr. to clarify

hafif: adj. ligh, -le: v. intr. to be relieved

keskin: adj. sharp, -le: v. tr. to sharpen

serin: adj. cool, -le: v. intr. to cool off

zayɨf: adj. thin, slim, -la: v. intr. to lose weight

šišman: adj. fat, -la: v. intr. to put on weight

kuru: adj. dry, -la: v. tr. to dry

kara: n. black, -la: v. tr. (1) to cross out, (2) to vilify/defame

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CHINESE PASSIVES: Transformational or Lexical?

Jiuwu Zhang and Xiaohong Wen

Abstract: There are two types of passive constructions in Chinese. Type I is a syntactic passive since it is derived through a transformational rule. Type II is a lexical passive. It has certain properties in common with the predicate adjectives in Chinese and in English. It is derived through a semantic function in lexical causative-inchoative constructions.

Under the framework of Universal Grammar, the differences in the syntactic function of verbs in a language may be attributed to a lexical representation. Thus English passives are analyzed in two ways. Certain passives are derived by lexical rules where the passive verbs demonstrate the properties of adjectives. Other passives are derived by syntactic rules where the passive verbs initiate syntactic movement.

In this paper, we will show that the different derivations of English passives are not language-specific properties. They are also found in other languages such as Hebrew (Borer and Wexler, 1987), and Chinese. The construction of Chinese passives varies in the syntactic realization which indicates the different lexical properties of verbs. Lexical meanings may determine syntactic constructions. Certain verbs in Chinese passives are verbal, whereas the others are adjectival. In order to demonstrate the lexical and syntactic derivations of Chinese passives, we distinguish the essential properties of Chinese verbs and adjectival verbs in the first part of this paper. In the latter part of the paper, we compare the two syntactically different types of Chinese passives. The similarities between the constructions of adjectival verbs and Type II passives indicate that certain Chinese passives are lexical while the others are syntactically transformational.

Analysis of English Passives

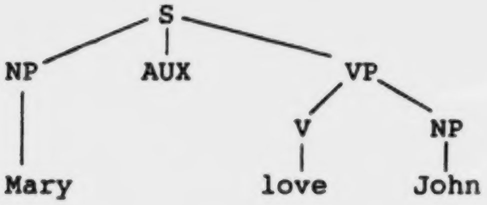
In the current transformational grammar, active and passive sentences are derived from different underlying representations. The deep structures of active and passive sentences only have the verb in common:

Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics, 1989, Vol. 14, no.1, pp. 123-140.

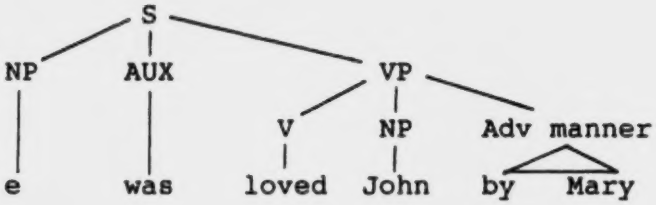
(1a) Mary loved John.

(2a) e is loved John by Mary.

(1b) Active



(2b) Passive



The S-structure of (2) is (3) where John moves to the empty node.

(3) John was loved by Mary.

The active-passive alternation of (1) and (2) is described through the lexical transformational operation. In this transformation, the lexical item 'loved' has changed its category from a verb in (1) to an adjectival passive participle in (2). In sentence (1), 'John' is assigned objective case by the transitive verb 'loved'. Whereas in (2) 'John' is not assigned any case because the word 'loved' is an adjective which is unable to assign any case even though it governs 'John'. When 'John' is moved to the empty node in (3), it is assigned nominative case by virtue of being the subject of a tensed clause. The trace of 'John' is not assigned a case for the adjective 'loved' cannot assign any case. In this way the rules of the Case Filter and the NP-Trace condition have been met (Radford, 1981). Otherwise, if the word 'loved' in (2) and (3) were treated as a verb like in (1), we would have run into problems. The empty trace of 'John' in (3) would have an objective case assigned by the verb 'loved', which falls foul of the NP-Trace condition.

Thus, the verbs in passive constructions are usually treated as adjectives. Passive participles, like most adjectives, directly govern only one surface argument; the other surface argument is directly governed by the preposition. Whereas transitive verbs in active constructions obligatorily govern two arguments.

Wasow (1977) proposes that in English there are two sources for passive participles. Some passive participles are lexical adjectives while others are verbs. As such, there must be two rules in English relating transitive verbs in the active voice to passive constructions. The rule deriving adjectival passives must be a lexical redundancy rule, while the other must be transformational.

Wasow (1977) argues that passives whose derived subjects are their underlying direct objects should be able to exhibit adjectival behavior. He also states that when passive participles function as lexical adjectives, they may appear:

1. in the prenominal position, e.g.
   the open letter
   the opened letter

2. as complements to certain copula verbs, e.g. seem, act, and look.

   John seems
   happy.
   annoyed.

3. with prefixing of un-

   He is unlucky in many things.
   The island is uninhabited by humans.

4. with degree modification by very.

   Your family is very (much) respected.

Wasow proposes five kinds of verbal passive participles which require transformational derivation.

1. Passives of double object constructions.

   Bill was told (the story).

2. Passives of the 'accusative subject' constructions.

Mary is thought to be a genius.
We were expected to be model citizens.

3. Passives of idiom chunks.

Advantage is easily taken of John.

4. Passives of help and thank.

John always seems to be $\left\langle \begin{matrix} \text{helped} \\ \text{thanked} \end{matrix} \right\rangle$ by his friends.

5. Passives followed by predicative expressions like a fool or president.

Comparisons Among Chinese Verbs

It is not easy to distinguish between Chinese verbs and adjectives. Most Chinese adjectives function in the same way as verbs. Most adjectives are a subset of verbs which may function as predicates. Some may take objects. In some grammar books, adjectives are named adjectival descriptive verbs [A.D.V]. We will discuss the differences between [A.D.V] and other verbs, and analyze these verbs in terms of lexical and transformational processes.

The following properties may be shared uniquely by actional verbs[A.V], stative verbs [S.V], adjectival descriptive verbs [A.D.V.], or shared by all of them.

1. Appear in the imperative: +[A.V], -[S.V], -[A.D.V]/ +very few.

(4) a. Qing wu xi [A.V] yan.
Please not smoke cigarette
Please do not smoke.

b. Qing anjing [A.D.V].
Please quiet
Please be quiet.

c. *Qing dong/ zhidao/ xihwan [S.V] zheige wenti.
Please understand/ know/ like this question.

d. *Qing zhengqi/ ganjing/ qinlao/ yonggan [A.D.V].
Please tidy/ clean/ hardworking/ brave.

2. Be modified by a degree adverb such as HEN (very), TAI (extremely), and FEICHANG (especially): -[A. V.], +[S. V.] on the condition that [S. V] is followed by an object or a complement, +[A. D. V].

(5) a. *Wo hen mai [A.V] zhexie shu.
I very buy these books.

b. ??Wo hen zhidao [S.V].
I very know.

c. Wo hen zhidao/ dong [S.V] zhege daoli.
I very know/ understand this reason
I know/ understand this reason very well.

d. Wo hen/ tai/ feichang gaoxing [A.D.V].
I very/ extremely/ especially happy
I am very/ extremely/ especially happy.

3. Modify nouns: +[A.V] +[S.V] both on the condition that they have to be VP in the form of V+O, V+ADV, or V+PP. +[A.D.V].

(6) a. *Chi[A.V] de (Mod.M.=modifier marker) ren.
Eat Mod.M. person

b. ??Zhangzai (Prog.T.M.= progressive tense marker)chi de ren.
Eating Mod.M. person

c. (Zhengzai) chi fan de ren.
(Prog.T.M.) eat food Mod.M. person
The person who eats (is eating).

(7) a. *Zou[A.V] de ren.
Walk Mod.M. person

b. Yijing zoule de ren.
Already walked Mod.M. person
The person who walked away.

c. Zaijieshang zou de ren.
On street walk Mod.M. person
The person who walks on the street.

(8) a. *Ai[S.V] de ren.
Love Mod.M. person

b. *Zhengzai ai de ren.
Prog.T.M. love Mod.M. person

The person in love.

c. Ai haizi de ren.
The person who loves children

(9) a. Hao[A.D.V] pengyou.
Good friend.

b. Hen hao de pengyou.
Very good friend.

4. Be the complement of certain copula verb (e.g.seem, look, sound). -/+very few and on conditions [A.V], +[S.V] many on the condition that [S.V] is either followed by an object or a complement, +[A.D.V].

(10) a. *Yifu kanqilai chuanle[A.V].
Clothes seem wore

b. Yifu kanqilai chuanguole.
Clothes see worn
Clothes seem to have been worn.

(11) a. ?Ta kanqilai hen xihwan[S.V].
He seems very like
He seems to like it very much.

b. Ta kanqilai hen xihwan ni zwode fan.
He seem very like you cook food
He seems to like the food you cooked very much.

(12) Ta kanqilai hen yonggan[A.D.V].
He looks very brave.

In sum, the comparisons of [A.V], [S.V], and [A.D.V] are presented on the following table.

	Imperative	Mod. by degree Adv.	Attri.	Cop.comp.
A.V.	+	-	+cond.	-/+few & cond.
S.V.	-	+cond.	+cond.	+many on cond.
A.D.V.	-/+few	+	+	+

In Chinese though adjectival descriptive verbs function like general verbs, there are some constructions which basically distinguish [A.D.V] from other verbs. Three features that distinguish [A.D.V] from both actional and stative verbs are that [A.D.V] can be modified by degree adverbs, be attributives, and the complements of certain copulas with no special conditions. Whereas actional and stative verbs usually have to become VP (e.g. V+O, V+Adv, V+Comp.) to accomplish these functions.

Chinese Passive Constructions

Type I: Patient + BEI (by) + (agent) + V. + V. complement.

BEI is a preposition which takes an agent as its object. In this sense, the function of BEI is the same as that of the English 'by phrase' in passive constructions. Another essential function of BEI is to indicate when the verb is passivized. That is why the sentence (13b) is grammatical even when the object 'wo' (me) of the preposition BEI is absent.

Passive constructions usually express the result of the action. However, the majority of Chinese verbs do not include the actional result. For example, 'bang gou' (to tie the dog) does not necessarily indicate that the dog is tied. Qilai (the post verb complement) has to be added to express the result of the action: 'Gou bei bangchilai le' (The dog has been tied). Verb complements in the passive express basically verb tenses and aspects.

(13) a. Neige ren bei wo da le.
That person P.M.(=passive mark) I beat V.comp.
That person was beaten by me.

b. Neige ren bei da le.
That person P.M. beat V. Comp.
That person was beaten.

Type II: S. + V. + V. complement.

(14) a. Zhwozi ca ganjing le.
Table wipe clean V.Comp.
The table was wiped clean.

b. Zhwozi bei (wo) ca ganjing le.
Table P.M. (me) wipe clean V. Comp.
The table was wiped clean (by me).

Type II passives are not constructed with BEI. There are no indications that the construction is passive. Yet the objective thematic role of the grammatical subject and the meaning of the sentence imply that it is a passive construction. Many authors such as Liu et al. (1983) believe that this is a passive construction. Teng (1977) believes that this structure is derived through the processes of topicalization and agent deletion. Chao (1968) thinks that one might take it as an intransitive verb construction, rather than a passive.

We have discovered that when verbs are used in Type II passives, the sentences indicate the result of the action or the state of the patient. For example (14a) implies that someone wiped the table, therefore the table was clean. Such a relationship is causative and inchoative. They have an aspectual sense of completion as well.

Borer and Wexler (1987) distinguish two types of intransitive verbs in inflectional languages. (Perlmutter 1978 made this observation first).

(15) a. NP V.

b. V NP.

In (15a), the only argument of the verb is generated in the [NP,S] position. In (15b), the argument of the verb is generated in the [NP,VP] position, the object position. In inflectional languages, the nominative case can be assigned to the post-verbal position directly. In English and Chinese, where word orders are significant, independent considerations will rule out the configuration in (15b). No nominative case can be assigned in the post-verbal position. Or the post-verbal argument has to move to the subject position to be assigned case. For example, the intransitive verb 'move' is base generated in the structure shown in (15b). It takes one argument which is base-generated in the object position (16a). The argument has to move to the [NP,S] position to receive case (16b).

(16) a. e moved the doll.

b. the doll moved [e].

Verbs which exhibit a causative-intransitive alternation, such as 'move', have the NP appear as the intransitive subject and the transitive object. They are referred to as ergative verbs by Burzio (1981), or unaccusatives by Permutter (1978). The verbs in Type II Chinese passives are ergative verbs in this sense. They are intransitive.[1]

Comparison of Type I and Type II Passives

It is generally believed that (17a) is derived from (17b) through the deletion of the logical subject; and (17b) is derived from (17c) through passive transformational rules. Therefore, (17a) is derived by syntactic transformation.

(17) a. Zhwozi ca ganjing le.
The table was wiped clean.

b. Zhwozi bei e ca ganjing le.
The table was wiped clean.

c. e ca ganjing le zhwozi.
(Somebody) wiped the table clean.

It is true that (17b) is transformationally derived from (17c). This transformation can be illustrated by (18).

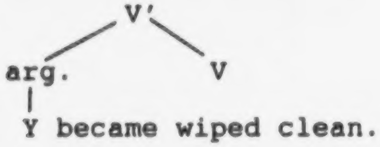
(18) a. e ca ganjing le zhwozi.
(Somebody) wiped the table clean.

b. Zhwozi bei e ca ganjing le [e].
The table was cleaned by (somebody).

However there is no transformational derivation which relates (17a) to (17b). These two sentences are semantically identical and syntactically different. (17a) triggers elimination of the agent θ-role; (17b) absorbs it. (17a) externalizes the internal θ-role; (17b) does not. Due to the ergativity of the verb, Type II Chinese passives are lexical derivations. The tensed clause directly assigns case to the [NP,S] position as most adjectival verbs do. Whereas Type I passives (17b) go through the transformational movement. They are full verb passives.

Type II passives (17a) can also be described using the lexical rules proposed by Guerssel et al. (1985). Guerssel et al. argue that a verb expresses an action or state with one or more arguments. The arguments are indicated in the lexical conceptual structure (LCS) by means of variables (X and Y) which are expressed in the syntax by NPs bearing the subject and object relations, respectively. The verbs in Type II Chinese passives are in the inchoative construction (17a) which arises from the syntactic realization of the lexical conceptual structure. The single argument 'zhwozi' (table) is understood to be the passive argument in the state depicted by the verb 'ca' (wipe):

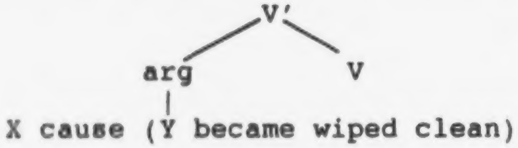
(19) Y (table)
became wiped clean.



When the lexical structure is mapped into syntax, the argument in the lexical structure is realized as an NP bearing the object relation to the verb. By the prediction requirement, a subject is required. NP movement is applied and 'zhwozi' (table) is transformed to the [NP, S] position. In this way, it bears the subject relation to the verb. By the case marking rule, it is assigned nominative case.

Sentence (17c) is a causative construction. The verb 'ca' (wipe) has two arguments, an active participant and a passive participant. This relationship is captured in the LCS of the causative verb. 'The LCS of a causative verb is derived by a productive rule which takes an LCS of the form "Y come to be STATE" and derives a dyadic LCS of the form "X cause (Y come to be STATE)"' (Guerssel, 1987, pp. 54-55). Thus, the inchoative construction 'zhwozi ca ganjin le' (the table is wiped clean) is embedded as the complement of a dyadic causative predicator:

(20)



Constructions (19) and (20) demonstrate that Type II passives are generated lexically from causative constructions.

More detailed comparisons between Type II passives (21) and Type I passives (22) are presented below.

(21) a. Che yong huai le.
Car use broken V.Comp.
The car has been used to the extent that it is broken.

b. Yifu chwan zang le.
Clothes wear dirty V.Comp.

The clothes have been worn to the extent that they are dirty.

c. Xie ran hong le.
Shoe dye red V.Comp.
The shoes were dyed red.

d. Beizi da swei le.
Cup hit broken V.Comp.
The cup was hit and became pieces.

(22) a. Qianbao bei (ta) tou le.
Purse P.M. (he) steal V.Comp.
The purse was stolen (by him).

b. Zhangsan bei (Lisi) kun qilai le.
Zhangsan P.M. (Lisi)tie up V.Comp.
Zhangsan was tied up (by Lisi).

c. Fan bei (Zhangsan) chi wan le.
Food P.M. (Zhangsan) eat finish V. Comp.
The food was eaten up (by Zhangsan).

d. Neige haizi bei (mama) piping le.
Child P.M. (mother) criticize V. Comp.
The child was criticized (by the mother).

Following the terminology of Burzio (1981), all the verbs in (21) are ergative whereas those in (22) are not.

One may argue that (21) has the same syntactic structures as (22) because the passive marker BEI can be added to (21), (e.g. 21a, Che bei ta yong huai le.). However, the crucial point is that BEI is optional in (21)[2], but obligatory in (22). In other words, the sentence 'Chianbau tou le' is unacceptable. The verb 'tou' (steal) cannot directly assign an agent θ-role to the [NP, S] position, for it does not make any sense semantically. The verb assigns the theme role only to the argument in the [NP, VP] position. Thus, (22a) is derived from the D-structure of (22e):

(22) a. Qianbau bei (ta) tou le [e].
The purse was stolen by (him).

(22) e. e bei (ta) tou le qianbau.
(He) stolen the purse.

In (22e) the verb 'steal' assigns the argument 'purse' a θ-role in the [NP,VP] position. As this property may not be changed during the syntactic derivation, there must be an element in the [NP,VP] position at the both S-structure and D-structure. In (22a) the argument 'purse' has to move to the [NP,S] position to be assigned. Thus, the trace is left behind the verb. The passive marker BEI has to appear right after the argument to indicate this transformation. The semantic relations between logical subjects and objects in (22) are agents and patients.

The sentences in (21) are different. They encode an inchoative state. In (21a), the car (che) is broken (hwaile) because somebody used it and caused it to become broken. In other words, the car became broken by the means of being used (yong) too much. This relationship can be captured by lexical operations. The inchoative construction (21a) [The car became broken by being used] is derived from the causative construction: X cause [Y (the car) become broken by being used]. In Type II passives (21), the post-verbal position subcategorized by the verb is eliminated. If such a position were generated, it could not be assigned a θ-role. The NP has to be at the [NP,S] position to be assigned nominative case by INFL. Thus, the thematic role that would have been assigned in the [NP, VP] position is now assigned directly in the subject position. And nominative case is assigned to the [NP,S] position as the case in regular adjectival verb constructions.

Since (21), Type II passives, are not full verb passives, (i.g. they are not transformationally derived), the semantic relations between the two arguments are not confined to agents and patients as in (22). They are more varied. The grammatical subjects in (21) are usually inanimate nouns whereas in (22) the subjects are both animate and inanimate. Sentences in (21) state facts whereas those in (22) emphasize actions.

Additional evidence that Type II passives (21) are lexical derivations is that the VP in (21) can directly modify its noun at the prenominal position;

whereas the VP in (22) cannot, or the passive mark is required. This function of the verb in (21) is the same as the function of [A.D.V].

(23) a. Yong hwaile de che.
Use broken Mod.M.car=the car that is broken by being used

b. Chwan zangle de yifu.
The clothes that are dirty through being worn too much.

c. Ran hongle de xie.
The shoes that are dyed red.

d. Da sweile de beizi.
The cup that is smashed into pieces.

(24) a. *Tou le de qianbao.
The stolen purse.

(But: Bei tou le de qianbao.)
The purse that is stolen.

b. *Kunqilai de Zhangsan.
Tied Zhangsan.

(But: Bei kunqilai de Zhangsan.)
Zhangsan who is tied.

c. *Chi wanle de fan.
The eaten food.

*Bei chi wanle de fan.
The food that is eaten.

?Bei Zhangsan chile de fan.
The food that eaten by Zhangsan.

d. *Piping le de haidz.
The criticized child.

?Bei piping le de haidz.
The child who is criticized.

Borer and Wexler (1987) propose that most actional verbs give rise to derived adjectives in English. It seems that in Chinese, most ergative verbs with their suffix complements directly give rise to derived [A.D.V].

Further evidence is that the verb phrases in TYPE II passives can occur as complements to certain copula verbs, (e.g. 'kanqilai' (seem), 'haoxiang' (look as if), 'tingqilai' (sound). This property is similar to that of Chinese adjectival descriptive verbs [A.D.V] and to English adjectives. Whereas the verb phrases in Type I passives cannot function as these copula complements unless the passive mark BEI is added.

(25) a. Zheliang qiche kanqilai yong huai le.
This car seems broken by being used (too much).

b. Zhejian yifu kanqilai chwan zangle.
This clothes look dirty by being wearing (too much).

c. Zheshwang xie kanqilai ran hongle.
This pair of shoes seem dyed red .

d. Zhege beizi haoxiang da sweile.
This cup looks as if broken by being hit.

(26) a. *Qianbao haoxiang toule.
(But: qianbao haoxiang bei toule.)
The purse seems to have been stolen.

b. *Zhangsan haoxiang kunqilai le.
(But: Zhangsan haoxiang bei kunqilai le.)
Zhangsan seems to have been caught.

c. *Fan haoxiang chi wan le.
(But: Fan haoxiang bei chi wan le.)
The food seems to have been eaten up.

d. *Haizi haoxiang piping le.
(But: Haizi haoxiang bei piping le.)
The child looks to have been criticized.

The final evidence is that though the verbs in Type II passives are actional, they describe manners rather than actions of their passive constructions. Thus, sentences in (21) can answer 'how' questions as the verbs function like manner adverbs.

(27) a. Che zemma hwaile?
Car how broken V.Comp?
How did car become broken?

Che yong hwaile.
The car became broken by being used.

b. Yifu zemma zangle?
Clothes how dirty V.Comp.?
How did the clothes become dirty?

Yifu chwan zangle.
The clothes became dirty by being worn.

c. Xie zemma hongle?
How did the shoes become dirty?

Xie ran hongle.
The shoes were dyed red.

d. Beizi zemma sweile?
How did the cup become pieces?

Beizi shwai sweile.
The cup became broken into pieces by being thrown away.

In the above analyses, it seems that the verb complements (the adjectives such as 'broken', 'dirty', and 'red'), rather than the verbs, function as predicates. This is because these verbs and their complements can function separately and independently in sentences. Adjectival descriptive verbs and PPs in Chinese can be predicates.

(28) a. Che yong gwole.
Car use PT.M.
The car has been used.

b. Che hwai le.
Car broken V.Comp.
The car is broken.

c. Che yong hwaile.
The car is broken by being used.

(29) a. Baozhi fang le.
Newspaper put V.Comp.
The newspaper is put away.

b. Baozhi zai ner.
Newspaper in there.
The newspaper is there.

c. Baozhi fang zai nerle.

The newspaper is put there.

Whereas Type I passives cannot be analyzed in this way. The verb complements in Type I are not independent from their verbs. Further, verb complements in Type I are usually shorter in form and less complete in meaning than they are in Type II passives.

Comparisons Between Type II Passives and A.D.Vs

Type II passives express an after-the-fact observation on the state of beings even though the verbs in Type II are actional. This semantic propert is similar to those of the constructions of adjectival descriptive verbs. When A.D.Vs are predicates, they usually describe the state and characteristic of the subjects.

The VP in Type II passives can directly modify its subject at the prenominal position. This property is in common with that of the A.D.V.

The VP in Type II passives can occur as complements to certain copula verbs. The A.D.V. has the same property as demonstrated in (9).

The essential difference between Type II passives and A.D.V. constructions is that A.D.V. can be modified by degree adverbs whereas the passive verbs in Type II cannot.

Summary

There are two types of passive constructions in Chinese. TYPE I is a verbal passive since it is derived through a transformational rule. TYPE II is a lexical passive. It has certain properties in common with the predicate adjectives in Chinese and English. It is derived through the semantic function and in lexical causative-inchoative constructions. The table below illustrates the differences and the similarities among the two types of passives and adjectival descriptive verbs.

	Type I	Type II	A.D.V.
Ergative	-	+	NA
BEI	+oblig.	+opt./-neg. S.	-
Attributive	-/+cond.	+	+

Cop. Comp.	-	+	+
Stative	-	+	+
V./Adv. manner	-	+	NA

NOTES

1 Only the verbs which exhibit a causative-intransitive alternation can occur in Type II passives. Intransitive verbs which do not have a causative alternation cannot occur in Type II passives. Thus, verbs like 'zou' (go), 'shwei' (sleep), 'si' (die) and 'da penti' (sneeze) cannot occur in passive constructions. Some verbs can be both transitive and intransitive. Yet if they do not exhibit a causative-intransitive alternation, the intransitive verb construction is not passive:

(ia) Tamen xiao ta (They laugh at him).

(ib) Ta xiaole (He laughed).

(ib) is not a passive construction. The verb 'xiao' in (ia) and (ib) has different meanings. Compare:

(iia) Tamen qi/ lei/ xia ta. (They irritate/ tired/ frightened him)

(iib) Ta qizhao/ lei/ xiazhao le. (He is irritated/ tired/ frightened)

(iib) are Type II passive constructions which express an inchoative state.

2 We are very thankful to Dr. Cliff Pye for his very useful suggestions and critiques.

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